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CSSR DELEGATE: 'REALISM HAS PREVAILED'

AU251136 Prague PRACE in Czech 22 Jul 83 p 1

[PRACE interview with Ilja Hulinsky, head of the CSSR delegation to the Madrid CSCE meeting: "Realism Has Prevailed" -- place and date not given -- passages in upper case published in boldface]

[Text] [PRACE] Recently, the majority of the participants in the Madrid meeting expressed their preliminary assent with the draft final document. What are the prospects for positive and concrete results of the meeting?

[Hulinsky] NOT ONLY THE MAJORITY: REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL 35 COUNTRIES PARTICIPATING IN THE MADRID MEETING HAVE ALREADY OFFICIALLY GIVEN THEIR PRELIMINARY ASSENT TO THE DRAFT OF ITS FINAL DOCUMENT. The representative of Malta, however, has for the time being reservations as regards two or three stipulations in the text. Generally it is thought that in the next few days the Madrid meeting will begin to deliberate the next to last point on its agenda, within the framework of which the heads of delegations of the participating countries will definitely approve the final document in the name of their governments. Thus a concrete positive result will be achieved, that is, an extensive and balanced document will be adopted. This document should serve to improve and further expand detente, among other things, by convening a conference on confidence- and security-building measures and on disarmament in Europe, which must become a firm part of the Helsinki process. HOWEVER, THE FINAL SESSIONS OF THE MADRID MEETING, ATTENDED BY FOREIGN MINISTERS, WILL APPARENTLY TAKE PLACE AFTER THE RECESS, IN THE FIRST DAYS OF SEPTEMBER.

[PRACE] Does that mean that the United States and its NATO allies have abandoned their obstructionist policy?

[Hulinsky] IT MEANS THAT REALISM HAS PREVAILED -- THE AWARENESS OF THE FACT THAT MAINTAINING THE PROCESS WHICH BEGAN IN HELSINKI IS IN THE OBJECTIVE INTERESTS OF ALL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WITHOUT EXCEPTION. IT MEANS THAT THE AWARENESS HAS PREVAILED AMONG THE EUROPEAN STATES THAT THE SUCCESS OF THE MADRID MEETING WILL BE EQUALLY SHARED BY ALL ITS PARTICIPANTS. IT MEANS THAT WESTERN EUROPE, REALIZING ITS INTERESTS IN THE EUROPE-WIDE PROCESS, HAS SUCCEEDED IN DEFENDING THEM AGAINST THE POLICY OF THE CURRENT AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. IT MEANS THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAD TO ABANDON ITS ATTEMPTS TO THWART THE EUROPE-WIDE PROCESS IF IT WANTED TO PRESERVE AT LEAST A SEMBLANCE OF THE SO-CALLED ATLANTIC SOLIDARITY IN THIS QUESTION.

Already this very fact provides the opportunity to consider a given question not only from the viewpoint of the continuity of the process of European security and cooperation, which the positive result of the Madrid meeting ensures, but also, for example, from the viewpoint of the struggle against the NATO plans to station new American intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe.

[PRACE] How did the stepped up efforts of the world's peace forces aimed at eliminating the threat of nuclear war affect the deliberations of the meeting?

[Hulinsky] The peace forces' struggle to eliminate the danger of nuclear war, and to achieve detente, disarmament and peace has undoubtedly had an influence on the final standpoints of the representatives of the NATO states, who otherwise often asserted at the Madrid meeting standpoints agreed in the NATO Council, undermining the Europe-wide process in the spirit of the line of the current American government.

THE MADRID MEETING, TOO, HAS PROVED THAT PEACE IN EUROPE CAN BE MAINTAINED AND STRENGTHENED IF THE NATIONS OF OUR CONTINENT TAKE THE QUESTION OF PEACE INTO THEIR HANDS.

[PRACE] In what will be the main significance of the final document of the Madrid meeting?

[Hulinsky] The final document of the Madrid meeting will be adopted by consensus. That means that the governments of all 35 participating countries must agree with the text. This constitutes a compromise which will not reflect and also cannot in all respects fully reflect the standpoints of all these states. But despite some of its -- even negative -- instances, one can say that THIS IS A DOCUMENT THAT INCORPORATES THE KEY STRATEGIC GOALS WITH WHICH THE CSSR AND ITS ALLIES WENT TO THE MADRID MEETING, that is, it is the affirmation of the validity of the principle of the Helsinki Final Act, the deepening of the Europe-wide process, its strengthening in the sphere of security, and the further development (?of economic,) scientific-technical and cultural cooperation, as well as the development in the humanitarian sphere. In short, it ensures the continuity of the process of the CSCE.

THE BALANCED NATURE OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT, THUS ALSO THE BALANCED NATURE OF SOME OF ITS SHORTCOMINGS, IS THE RESULT OF THE TIME FACTOR. There is no doubt that the successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting precisely at the present time, which is characterized by the escalation of tension and continuing destabilization of relations among states, can contribute to the improvement of relations among states, and not only those in Europe. THE FINAL STAGE OF THE MADRID MEETING HAS SHOWN THAT, EVEN IN THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, DIALOGUE AND AGREEMENT ARE NOT ONLY POSSIBLE, BUT NECESSARY. NOW, THE EXPERIENCE FROM THE CONCLUDING SESSION OF THE MADRID MEETING HAS TO BE TRANSFERRED TO OTHER INTERNATIONAL DELIBERATIONS, ESPECIALLY THE DELIBERATIONS ABOUT REDUCING AND LIMITING THE ARMS BUILDUP.

FILIPOV RECEIVES USSR AMBASSADOR GREKOV

AU251916 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 25 Jul 83

[Text] Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has received Leonid Grekov, the newly-appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR to Bulgaria, in Sofia, today.

LEADERS ATTEND POLISH AMBASSADOR'S RECEPTION

AU221338 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 21 Jul 83

[Text] Wladyslaw Napierai, Polish ambassador to Bulgaria, has given a reception on the occasion of the national day of the country, the day of Poland's rebirth. The following comrades attended the reception, which was held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere: Aleksandur Lilov; Milko Balev; Petur Tanchev; Dimitur Stanishev; Stoyan Mikhaylov; members of the State Council and the government; chiefs of public, political, and mass organizations; scientific and cultural figures; and generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army. Chiefs and members of diplomatic missions accredited to Bulgaria also attended the reception.

TODOROV-LED DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR CUBA

AU241527 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 24 Jul 83

[Text] A party and government delegation headed by Stanko Todorov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the National Assembly, has departed for Havana. The delegation will attend the celebrations for the national holiday of Cuba -- the 30th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks.

The delegation was seen off at Sofia Airport by Milko Balev, BCP Central Committee Politburo member, by deputy chairman of the National Assembly, and by highranking officials from the BCP Central Committee.

Manuel Eustaquio Remedios de los Cuetos, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cuba to Bulgaria, was also among those present at the airport.

HONECKER, STOPH GREET POLAND ON NATIONAL DAY

AU251400 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jul 83 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, and Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers chairman, have sent the following telegram to Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, and Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic:

Dear comrades!
On the occasion of the 39th anniversary of the rebirth of Poland, we convey to you, the PZPR Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers, as well as to the people of the Polish People's Republic, most cordial greetings and congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers and the people of the GDR.

With the development started on 22 July 1944, the Polish workers class under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party made together with all working people the biggest social change in the history of the Polish people, which crowned the sacrificial struggle of all progressive forces of Poland for national and social liberation. Based on the alliance with the USSR and the other states of the socialist community, the Polish People's Republic is making its contribution to the worldwide struggle of the peoples for preserving peace, for security, and for international cooperation.

For over four decades manifold relations have developed between the GDR and the Polish People's Republic in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The friendship of our two peoples is an inviolable historic achievement of socialism. Today this alliance between the GDR and People's Poland, as socialist neighboring countries in the center of Europe, proves more than ever before to be a stabilizing factor of peace and security on our continent.

It fills us with great satisfaction that the stipulations made during the official friendship visit of the Polish party and state delegation in March 1982 in Berlin have resulted in a noticeable activation of bilateral relations. With the further deepening of cooperation between our parties, states, and peoples on the basis of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance we are strengthening the community of socialist states and consolidating the positions of the forces of socialism and peace in the world. Be assured that the GDR will also in future be a loyal friend and ally of socialist Poland.

We wish you, dear comrades, the workers class, and the Polish people much success in overcoming the important tasks of strengthening and consolidating socialism in your country on the occasion of your national holiday.

Please accept our best wishes for health and personal well-being.

COMMENTATOR VIEWS U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

DW260720 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 25 Jul 83

[Guenther Leunscher international review]

[Text] Good evening, dear listeners: News reports on what the United States is preparing in Central American could hardly be more alarming.

After the dispatch of an entire armada of U.S. war ships, the step-by-step escalation of Washington's actions against Nicaragua has passed the point at which one must speak of an undeclared war. The impertinence with which the U.S. Government announced military exercises of several months off the Nicaraguan coast -- maneuvers of such length do not exist at all -- only allows the conclusion that a blockade is being prepared along the same pattern which the United States once resorted to in order to strangle Cuba. In Washington one actually talks quite frankly of such a blockade by simply calling it a quarantine -- a really perverse idea of those responsible for public relations.

Off the Honduran west coast, the NEW YORK TIMES reports, the U.S. Army is setting up a military base that is envisaged for American troops. A commentary of an FRG radio station said over the weekend that for Reagan, war continues during negotiations. In his view such a war can only end with the disappearance of the Sandinist Government. There were dozens of similar assessments in the bourgeois media over the last few days. Speculat[illegible] concerns whether and when Washington will eventually throw overboard all the bitter experiences of Vietnam and resort to direct military intervention. Millions of Americans naturally are asking themselves about the consequences that are bound to result.

However, the United States has already thrown overboard all principles of international law and of the Helsinki Final Act. The call made by American UN Ambassador Kirkpatrick for overthrowing the Nicaraguan Government by force is a threat of force that is a downright mockery of the pertinent article of the Helsinki Final Act. The fact that this threat came from a person who by virtue of her office as UN ambassador is committed to strengthen world security only worsens the affair and demonstrates an almost unprecedented arrogance vis-a-vis the United Nations.

The same arrogance was shown by U.S. chief delegate Kampelman at the Madrid CSCE conference, when immediately after the agreement on the final document he insulted the Soviet Union in a manner unprecedented during the 3-year consultations. The FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU recently reproached the United States for having the sensitivity of a hippopotamus. It did so in connection with the decision to build the neutron bomb and the production of new chemical weapons. Although, as the paper wrote, the West European NATO countries are almost split in the passionate debate on the sense and nonsense of counterarmament.

However, this rather minimizing image of the sensitivity of a hippopotamus can actually be applied to all aspects of U.S. foreign policy. Be it in the field of armament, in Latin America, Europe or in the Middle East, this policy is becoming more and more unpredictable and dangerous. It really is not surprising that in the United States itself ever more prominent personages are warning of this course, for instance, former President Carter, who rejects what he termed the slanderous anti-Soviet rhetoric in Washington and when he said, reporting from his experiences with the Soviet Union, that the latter is negotiating honestly and adhering honestly to agreements signed and that it seriously desires peace.

It is, above all, not surprising that concern about this course is increasing in Western Europe, including politicians who actually are among Washington's most loyal allies, too. There are quite a few of these people who are faced with an extremely complicated dilemma. On the one hand, there is the class-oriented loyalty and solidarity with the United States, termed the common political approach, and on the other, there are also their own national interests, which to an increasing degree are at variance with Washington's overall political concept.

Some of these politicians have no objections to the policy of strength propagated by Reagan as long as it is directed solely against the socialist countries, and if it does not harm their own interests, above all their economic interests. Likewise, some of these politicians have no objections against new American missiles as long as they do not result in uncontrollable developments that could also harm their own interests. It actually may be that here and there in Western Europe it was hoped that the socialist countries would more or less reconcile themselves to the situation created by the stationing of these new missiles. However, these illusions are gradually vanishing. One obviously is beginning to realize in these quarters how seriously it must be taken that Yuriy Andropov last week again pointed out that the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe necessarily was bound to result in military and political consequences that would consierably complicate the entire world situation.

The fact that peace is greatly endangered with everything the United States is doing in Europe, Latin America, and in the Middle East, that it is not only anticommunist rhetoric and propaganda that matters, and that more is at stake -- all this actually raises a number of very serious questions for even very reliable partners of Washington. In addition, there is something else to be considered: after all the ups and downs, the 3-year negotiations at the Madrid CSCE meeting finally have brought about a result that actually benefits all European states. Even in a very tense international situation it was possible to achieve such a result that stabilizes the bases of detente policy on our continent. The majority of West European NATO states realized, although at a rather late stage of the conference, that this is important for them as well and not only for the socialist and the neutral states.

Nothing of what I just said is altered by the fact that the ever more unpredictable U.S. policy has also played its part in the gradual process of evaluation, so that by the end of the Madrid negotiations, even some pressure was brought to bear by West European governments on Washington to approve an agreement. To be sure, nobody expects anticommunists to become anti-Americans. This is not what matters. It also can hardly be expected that processes of thinking triggered by Washington's policy will lead to consequences by bourgeois politicians beyond a certain limit. Nobody is in a position to say whether this or that person will be carried to what point by the dilemma in which he finds himself.

There can be no doubt that in the future, too, we will have to reckon with inconsistencies, contradictions, and sudden turnabouts in our relations with our Western neighboring states, and also with the development beginning with the stationing of U.S. missiles in Europe, which we want to avoid. But as long as it is not yet too late, and precisely because we want to prevent this development, we also have to attentively note whether traces or signals do exist here and there that meet with our desire for a continuation of the policy of peaceful coexistence. This must be done soberly, without any illusions, however, with the very conscientiousness that is always required in politics, and in particular, in such a tense and serious situation.

CITIZENS TRY TO TELL STRAUSS OF EXIT HOPES

LD251346 Hamburg DPA in German 1141 GMT 25 Jul 83

[Excerpt] Dresden, 25 Jul (DPA) -- A number of GDR citizens in Dresden today attempted to tell the Bavarian state minister, Franz-Josef Strauss, of their desire to leave the GDR. Journalists observed that one man was led away by plain clothes security officials when he apparently tried to hand a letter to Strauss.

During the same attempt a woman was pushed into a corner by three security officials at the exit of the Old Master Gallery. Only after she caught Strauss' attention was she left alone by the security officials. She was still clutching a crumpled letter, but was able to hand another copy to the guest from Bavaria.

The woman claimed to be 30-year-old Elke Weiss from Oederan, which is situated between Karl-Marx-Stadt and Freiberg in Saxony. Exit visas for herself, her husband, Kurt, and daughter, Marion, had been applied for in September of last year. Later on her identity papers were checked by security officials.

On Sunday evening about 150 people had awaited the arrival of Strauss outside the Hotel Newa in the center of Dresden. He was, however, staying in a guest house in a different part of the city.

STRAUSS ON FRG-GDR RELATIONS TALKS WITH HONECKER

For comments on FRG-GDR relations by CSU chairman and Bavarian Prime Minister Franz-Josef Strauss on his return from a visit to the GDR, see the Federal Republic of Germany section of the 25 July Western Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

APPEAL MADE TO ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

AU221148 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Jul 83 pp 1-2

[Summary] Berlin (ADN) -- "Over 1,200 staff members and friends of the Christain Peace Conference in the GDR and other interested Christians have appealed to the Sixth General Assembly of the Ecumenical Council of Churches which will open in Vancouver (Canada) on 24 July. "In the appeal they ask for solidarity in work and deed in view of the great danger presented by the new U.S. nuclear missiles. Concern is expressed regarding the arbitrariness with which the efforts for detente and the desire for peace of the socialist states are defamed or hushed up in Western countries."

The appeal asks the participants of the meeting to publically work to ensure that all disarmament proposals be objectively examined and that fair and serious negotiations be conducted with the Soviet Union.

100,000 YOUNG POLES TO SPEND SUMMER IN GDR

AU061427 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2/3 Jul 83 p 3

[Summary] Berlin (ADN) -- By 4 July the first 12,000 Polish children and youth will have arrived in the GDR for their vacations. "We are pleased that this summer 100,000 children and youths from our socialist neighboring country, the Polish People's Republic, will visit the GDR at the invitation of the Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman," Gunter Rettner, secretary of the FDJ Central Council, said in a talk with ADN." At the same time, 35,000 youths from the GDR will visit Poland at the invitation of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic. "The stay of the guests in the GDR was prepared by state organs and social forces together with the FDJ."

Abouth 65,000 Polish children and students will stay in over 1,440 central pioneer camps, enterprise vacation camps, public education institutions and FDJ students' summer camps; another 35,000 young working people, primarily workers and peasants, will stay in institutions of the FDGB vacation service."

MTI COMMENTARY ON LIFTING MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND

LD260135 Budapest MTI in English 1723 GMT 25 Jul 83

["After the State of Emergency," by Zsolt Zsebesi, MTI commentator]

[Text] Budapest, July 25 (MTI) -- Lifting of the state of emergency in Poland is a step forward. Termination of the extraordinary measures and dissolution of the Military Council for National Salvation are important events yet mark no turn in Poland's political life.

Lifting of the state of emergency and proclamation of amnesty prove that the leadership has abided by its promise of resorting to special measures only as long as they are necessary. The Sejm's decision corroborates an earlier opinion that (?normalization) would be faster than expected.

Polish leaders always make it clear that both the introduction of extraordinary measures and their termination are decisions of a sovereign Polish state. Any attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of Poland is doomed to failure.

The Sejm's decision is not concession to outside pressure, on the contrary, logical consequence of an internal development which, for 19 months enjoys society's growing support.

Lifting of the state of emergency and the favorable social and economic processes in Poland prove absurdity of theories, voiced in Washington in some West European capitals, that "punishments" and "rewards" may force socialist countries to abandon their sovereign lines.

Political discrimination and unprecedented economic sanctions against Poland have failed not because they could not cause serious damage: They could. United States diplomacy alone deprived Polish economy -- which is in a difficult situation anyway -- of thousands of millions of dollars in revenues.

The policy of sanctions is absurd because it tries to doubt the realities of the world, the fact that Poland and the other socialist countries are sovereign politically and economically.

LOSONCZI, LAZAR MESSAGE TO IRAQI LEADERS

AU191233 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Jul 83 p 9

[Unattributed report: "Greetings Message"]

[Text] In a message, Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, greeted President Saddam Husayn, and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, greeted First Deputy Prime Minister Taha Yasin Ramadan on the occasion of the national holiday of the Republic of Iraq.

BRIEFS

NEW POLISH AMBASSADOR -- Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers; and Antal Apro, president of the National Assembly, have received for an introductory visit Jerzy Zielinski, PPR ambassador in Budapest. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Jul 83 p 8 AU]

TRYBUNA LUDU PUBLISHES SEJM LAW ON AMNESTY

AU251455 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in polish 23/24 Jul 83 pp 3-4

[Law adopted by the Sejm on 21 Jul 1983 concerning amnesty for martial law offenders]

[Text] The Sejm of the PPR, motivated by principles of socialist humanitarianism and having in mind the following:

-- the progressing normalization of social life and the strengthening of the socialist state,

-- the increase in social discipline and the improvement in the state of security and public order,

hereby decrees the following for the purpose of enabling those citizens in certain categories of crime who knowingly or unknowingly violated the legal order for political motives to recommence active participation in the life of the country and to be prematurely released because of age and personal reasons:

Article 1

The amnesty is to be applied to the following crimes committed before the lifting of martial law:

1. crimes against the legal order of martial law as described in Articles 46 and 48 of the 12 December 1981 Martial Law Decree (OFFICIAL GAZETTE No 29, item 154 and OFFICIAL GAZETTE No 3, 1982, item 18), and in Articles 256 and 257 of the Penal Code;

2. offenses concerning militarization defined in the Penal Code Articles 303; 304, paragraphs 1 through 3; 305; 306; and 309, with the exception of offenses involving fleeing the country.

3. offenses committed for political reasons or in connection with a strike or protest action;

a) against health defined in Article 156, paragraphs 1 and 2; Article 158, paragraph 1; and Article 160 paragraph 1 of the Penal Code;

b) offenses against freedom defined in Article 165, paragraph 1; Article 166; Article 167, paragraph 1; Article 171, paragraph 1; and Article 172, paragraph 1 of the Penal Code;

c) offenses against the person defined in Article 178, paragraphs 1 and 2; Article 181, paragraph 1; and Article 182, paragraph 1 of the Penal Code.

d) offenses against religious practices defined in Articles 196 and 197 of the Penal Code;

e) offenses against property defined in Article 212, paragraph 1; Article 214, paragraph 1; and Article 220 of the Penal Code;

f) offenses against the activity of state and social institutions defined in Article 233, Article 234, and Articles 235 through 237 of the Penal Code;

g) offenses against the public order defined in Article 270, paragraph 1; Article 272; Article 273, paragraphs 1 and 2; Article 275, paragraph 1; Article 276, paragraphs 1 and 3; Article 278, paragraphs 1 and 2; Articles 279 through 282a; 284; 285; 287; and 288, paragraph 1 of the Penal Code;

h) offenses defined in Article 6a of the 5 July 1946 decree on the formation of the Chief Office of Control Over Press, Publications, and Shows (OFFICIAL GAZETTES 1948 No 34, item 210; 1952 No 36, item 257; 1953 No 19, item 114; 1953 No 49, item 239; and 1981 No 20, item 99);

4. offenses commited during the counteraction of strikes, protest actions, and other group violations of security and public order for political reasons;

5. offenses not committed deliberately, except for those committed in a state of drunkenness.

Article 2

If an offender who up to the lifting of martial law has not been accused of any offense mentioned in Article 1 of this law or defined in Chapter 19 of the Penal Code, with the exception of the offenses defined in Articles 134, 135, and 254 of the Penal Code, reports voluntarily to a body of investigation or to a Polish diplomatic or consular representation by 31 October 1983 and makes a statement that he regrets his criminal activity and reveals the nature of the crime he committed with the time and place where it was committed, no criminal proceedings will be initiated, and those which have already been started, will be discontinued.

Article 3

1. In the case of offenses mentioned in Article 1 of this law that have been committed by women or persons under 21 years of age on the day of the crime, the sentences that have been pronounced and the fines and legal costs that have not yet been collected are to be waived in full.

2. However, sentences involving confiscation of goods, military degradation and demotion, and the paying of damages for injuries committed, are to be carried out.

3. Criminal proceedings are to be waived for the offenses discussed in paragraph 1. In that case, the whereabouts of tools and other articles used to commit the crime, as well as objects resulting directly or indirectly from the crime and objects whose possession is prohibited or which require permission, has to be explained.

4. Paragraphs 1 through 3 are to be applied in the appropriate way in cases where a sentence has already begun.

Article 4

1. Concerning offenses discussed in Article 1 committed by persons other than those discussed in Article 3:

1) [numbering here and subsequently as published] Prison sentences of up to 3 years, as well as more lenient sentences, are to be waived.

2) Prison sentences of over 3 years are to be halved.

2. Concerning offenses discussed in paragraph 1, proceedings are to be waived if the circumstances of a particular offense warrant a sentence that is subject to repeal.

3. In the cases discussed in paragraph 1, point 1 and paragraph 2, Article 3 is to be applied in the appropriate way.

Article 5

In specially justified cases, the Supreme Court may on the recommendation of the chief prosecutor of the PPR waive criminal proceedings in respect of offenses discussed in Article 1, even if the offense merits a sentence of over 3 years imprisonment; in respect of offenses defined in Chapter 19 of the Penal Code, with the exception of those offenses defined in Articles 134 and 135; and in respect of other offenses committed before the lifting of martial law. The Supreme Court may also waive the sentence that has been passed for any such offense.

Article 6

1. In the case of offenses committed before the lifting of martial law other than those discussed in Article 1, a conditional premature release from sentence may take place after half the sentence has been served, if:

1) the offender is over 50, if a woman and 60 if a man;

2) the offender has a duty of care in respect of a child aged up to 16 up to the day the law became valid.

2. Paragraph 1 does not apply to:

1) crimes defined in Article 1, point 1 of the 31 August 1944 decree on sentences for fascist-Hitlerite criminals guilty of murder and intimidation of the civilian population and of prisoners, as well as for traitors to the Polish people (OFFICIAL GAZETTE 1946 No 69, item 390; 1947 No 65, item 390; 1948 No 18, item 124; and 1949 No 32, item 238) and to the perpetrators of other war crimes and crimes against humanity;

2) crimes defined in Articles 122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 129, 130, and 131 of the Penal Code; offenses defined in Article 125 in connection with Articles 122-124 and 127 of the Penal Code; and offenses defined in Article 129 in connection with this amnesty law;

3) murder as defined in Article 148, paragraph 1 of the Penal Code;

4) crimes defined in Articles 134 and 135 of the Penal Code and in Article 201 and Article 202, paragraph 2 of this code, if they involve property of a considerable value and if the crimes were committed by persons acting in agreement with or on behalf of other persons regardless of the scale of damage committed;

5) corruption as defined in Articles 239; 240; 241, paragraphs 1, 3, and 4; 242; and 244 of the Penal Code;

6) rape as defined in Article 168 of the Penal Code;

7) offenses involving hooliganism or offenses committed in a drunken state;

8) offenses defined in Article 208 of the Penal Code and assault and battery defined in Articles 210 and 211 of the Penal Code;

9) economic offenses described in Chapter 30 of the Penal Code and offenses defined in the 25 September 1981 Law on Combatting Speculation (OFFICIAL GAZETTE 1982 No 36, item 243).

Article 7

1. If an offender who has been granted an amnesty commits a new similar offense up to 31 December 1985 for which he is sentenced to imprisonment, the amnesty is to be withdrawn in relation to that person. In such a case, criminal proceedings are to be undertaken, sentences are to be meted out in full, and all fines and legal costs that have not been collected are to be collected.

2. The body applying the amnesty is obliged to acquaint a person being granted amnesty with the text of paragraph 1. The person confirms that he has been informed of the text of this paragraph with his own signature.

Article 8

Offenses of a political nature and against the background of social conflicts before the lifting of martial law are to be pardoned and erased from memory, and unserved sentences are to be waived.

Article 9

1. Where two or more offenses subject to amnesty coincide, amnesty is to be applied to each offense separately; where an offense subject to amnesty coincides with one that is not subject to it, then amnesty will be applied to that offense which is subject to it.

2. After amnesty has been applied a combined punishment is to be imposed to the required degree according to the general principles.

Article 10

1. The rules contained in this law are to be applied to sentences that have already been reduced by means of the application of amnesty or clemency. The probation period for an offender who has been granted individual clemency is to be limited to 31 December 1985.

2. If only a combined punishment has been imposed as an act of amnesty or clemency, then the sentences given for all the coinciding crimes that have been committed are to be regarded as reduced to the above combined punishment.

Article 11

1. Amnesty is to be applied by the court competent for a given case.

2. During preliminary proceedings, amnesty is to be applied by the prosecutor; however, the court is to decide whether to dismiss a case on the recommendation of the prosecutor and on the basis of Article 2, paragraph 3 and Article 4, paragraph 2.

3. Concerning misdemeanors, amnesty is to be applied by the misdemeanor court.

4. Concerning persons who are serving a term of imprisonment, if there is no need to declare a combined punishment, then the voivodship court in whose district the prisoner is serving his sentence is to apply amnesty. Concerning military offenses, it is th military court which is to apply amnesty. One judge sitting alone is to decree amnesty.

Article 12

1. Declarations of amnesty are to be made in the form of decisions unless the amnesty has been applied during the verdict. An amnesty is to be applied during the verdict in cases that have been approved for dismissal.

2. Declarations of amnesty are subject to appeal. In the cases discussed in Article 11, paragraph 4 appeals are to be heard by voivodship courts or military courts during a session of three judges.

Article 13

1. In the cases discussed in Article 7, decisions are to be made by the court competent for a given case. If a case has been dismissed, then it is the court who dismissed the case that is to issue the decision.

2. The court is to make its decisions while in session, even though an amnesty has already been applied during the verdict.

3. A court's decision is subject to appeal.

Article 14

Proceedings concerning the granting of amnesty are to be conducted on the basis of the rules of the court that tried the case, unless this law states otherwise.

Article 15

1. When releasing persons from imprisonment and detention on the basis of the amnesty, women and adolescents are to be given priority as well as persons under temporary arrest.

2. The release of prisoners should occur within 30 days of the day on which the law becomes valid.

Article 16

Essential regulations concerning the implementation of this act may be issued by the minister of national defense; minister of labor, wages, and social services; minister of justice; minister of internal affairs; and the chief prosecutor of the PPR.

Article 17

This law is valid as of the day on which it was passed.

WARSAW REPORTS MORE PRISONERS RECEIVE AMNESTY

LD252154 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 25 Jul 83

[Text] The Ministry of Internal Affairs press spokesman has informed a PAP journalist that the courts continue to examine the cases of persons eligible for amnesty. The punishment of 28 persons sentenced for crimes of political nature has been fully remitted. Common criminals are included amongst those released if the offenses were committed unintentionally and not in a state of alcoholic intoxication. The courts have halved prison sentences for five persons, including four convicted for crimes of a political nature. Decisions about a discontinuation of the penal proceedings conducted so far have been adopted in the case of 52 people. The organs of the prosecutor's office have also adopted decisions about the lifting of temporary arrests applied in preparatory proceedings. According to the first reports coming in from all over Poland, the decisions affected 73 people.

JARUZELSKI PRAISES SOLIDERS' MARTIAL LAW EFFORT

AU250944 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 22 Jul 83 p 1

["Special Order" of the minister of national defense No 12 dated 22 July 1983]

[Text] Soldiers! Martial law has been lifted by resolution of the State Council of the PPR.

With its introduction on 13 December 1981, the Armed Forces undertook the dedicated and exceptionally responsible task of saving the fatherland. They came out in defense of the nation and state's existence and in defense of public law and order against attacks by the domestic and external enemy that was preparing a fratricidal conflict for Poland with incalculable consequences for peace in Europe and the world.

You have been faithful to the military oath and the worthy traditions of our Armed Forces. You have been aware of the meaning of Poland's credibility as a member of the Warsaw Pact for Poland's independence and sovereignty. During martial law you remained with honor at your assigned posts, watching over the security of your country, the rights of its citizens, and the rebirth of the national economy.

Your attitude, coupled with the effort of the working people and of all the nation's patriotic forces, has made it possible to defend the line of socialist renewal, block the road to anarchy and counterrevolution, prevent an economic disaster, and save Poland's good name in the eyes of the world.

For the bold, serious, conscientious, and dedicated performance of the tasks entrusted to them during martial law, I express my sincere thanks to soldiers in active service and in the reserve, and to the civilian employees in the Armed Forces.

Soldiers! Today, when Poland is entering a new stage in its history and the chance of Poland's successful socialist development in accordance with the ninth congress line is increasing together with normalization, you will continue to bear responsibility for the fate of the fatherland and for its peace and security in the fate of hostile imperialist threats. The combat readiness and moral-political cohesion of the Polish Army -- the nation's armed support -- must be maintained at the highest level.

We have met the hour of national trial -- we will meet the tasks of the future.

In connection with the lifting of martial law, I order the following:

1. Leaders of military units and heads of military institutions are to read the above order during special assemblies. During briefings and meetings involving cadres and soldiers undergoing basic military service, their contribution to and the implementation of tasks entrusted to the Armed Forces during this difficult period for the nation and people's state are to be assessed.

2. The names of soldiers in active service and the reserve and of civilian employees who have earned lasting remembrance for exceptionally dedicated and effective activity are to be recorded in the Book of Honor of Soldierly Deeds, in the books of honor belonging to the military districts and different armed services, and in the chronicles of military units.

Minister of National Defense Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski

MINISTERS DISCUSS ECONOMIC, SOCIAL TASKS

LD252351 Warsaw PAP in English 2048 GMT 25 Jul 83

[Text] Warsaw, 25 July -- The Council of Ministers met here today to discuss tasks and programme of work under new political and legal conditions.

The Council of Ministers stated that significant decisions taken by the Polish Sejm (parliament) at its meeting on July 21 and 22, and primarily the lifting of martial law by the Council of State, introduction of important amendments to the Constitution, passing of amnesty and adoption of interior regulations for the period of getting out of the crisis help further normalize life, enrich the platform of national agreement, consolidate order and social calm, stimulate productive work and continue the process of reforms.

The development of socio-political situation in the positive direction according to social expectations should be owed to the consistent implementation of the political line of the party and the socialist state -- the line of agreement and struggle. It will be continued with full consistency. This means patient and persistent gaining of confiedence and support of all those who want the fast overcoming of the crisis, full normalization of life and further improvement of Poland's international position as well as combatting every kind of social evil, dishonesty and injustice. At the same time, an uncompromising struggle will be waged against adversaries of socialism. The lifting of martial law will not weaken the authorities' determination to combat them.

The Council of Ministers reviewed the supply of foodstuffs and industrial goods to the market, and stated that the food supply has improved as a result of actions taken, while the supply of industrial goods for the market is uneven.

The Council of Ministers passed a resolution securing favourable conditions for further development of market production in 1983 and the following years.

The Council of Ministers also reviewed the housing construction and the introduction of the economic reform in this branch against the background of the opinion of the Sejm committee for construction and building materials industry.

Results achieved in the construction industry in the first half of 1983 make it possible to state that the adopted and introduced lines of actions have begun to produce first effects.

The socialist housing construction provided 58,800 apartments over the sixth months of this year, that is by 10,700 more than in the first half-year period of 1982. This amounts to 51.1 percent of annual tasks. Results obtained in the housing-related construction point to the maintenance of a favourable trend initiated in 1982.

The Council of Ministers pointed to the need of expanding housing construction projects sponsored by factories and providing far-reaching assistance to housing projects implemented by young people.

Press Service Established

LD252323 Warsaw PAP in English 2020 GMT 25 Jul 83

[Text] Warsaw 25 July -- The prime minister signed a resolution of the Council of Ministers on establishing press service of state administration, the Government Press Bureau told PAP today.

The resolution obliges state administration to continuously present, explain and substantiate the government's polices via mass media. For this purpose, ministers, heads of central offices and voivodes are to set up press services at their institutions in order to inform the public about plans, activities and results obtained by the administration as well as to provide journalists with access to information at their disposal.

Studying current publications, the press services will also respond to press criticism and participate in debates held in the pages of dailies and periodicals.

An important duty of the press service will be to inform mass media about the standpoint of a state administration body concerned on opinions, suggestions and postulates presented (?by) these media.

The press service will consist of the press spokesman of the government and the Government Press Office as well as spokesmen for ministers, heads of central offices, voivodes and their associates.

According to the resolution, the press spokesman for the government has a special status, will be appointed by the prime minister and subordinated directly to him. He will present the government's standpoint on matters of internal and foreign policy, [words indistinct] government policy, make declarations on behalf of the government and inform public opinion about the socio-political situation in the country.

For journalists, and thus for all society, he will be a source of information about the government's programme, activities and their results. Among other things, he will answer questions from by [as received] newspapers and journalists and offer comments on home and foreign developments.

He will also make statements concerning official talks of the government's presidia members with representatives of other countries, issue communiques about meetings, important legislative acts, decisions of the Council of Ministers and its organs. He will inform Polish mass media as to the government's postulates connected with informing the public about the state's policies and their interpretations.

The government press spokesman will coordinate the work of all the other press spokesmen.

STATISTICS ON PRIVATE ENTERPRISE FISCAL OFFENSES

AU171507 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9/10 Jul 83 p 2

[Text] According to the Ministry of Finance, in June 1983 the financial control unit of the fiscal chamber carried out 571 inspections and investigations of private enterprises that failed to declare their income to the tax authorities. Some 502 crimes and fiscal offenses were revealed at the same time as fiscal and penal proposals were submitted to fiscal offices. All those who committed fiscal offenses are liable to pay a fine for this according to the regulations set down in the penal law on fiscal offenses, as well as the taxes they still owe.

MATERIALS ON INVESTIGATION INTO PRZEMYK'S DEATH

Commentary on Western Reaction

AU251936 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23/24 Jul 83 p 4

[Commentary signed "(P.R.)": "The Case of G. Przemyk"]

[Excerpts] A verdict has already been pronounced in this case; the postmortem certificate has not yet been signed, the first witnesses have yet to be questioned, and there still has not been time to compile documents essential to the case, and here, it has been announced to the whole world that Grzegorz Przemyk, the Warsaw graduate, was brutally murdered by the militia. This surprisingly unanimous and, as always, well-orchestrated chorus of protests reverberated both at home and beyond our borders not only in defiance of the facts, since these were still unknown, but rather over and above any kind of facts. These protests were directed against lawlessness and brutality, against cruelty and sadistic methods, and against all the sins that could possibly have been ascribed to the authorities in such circumstances. Nothing was overlooked. Not only were the mass media involved in this case, but so also were what seemed to be serious institutions and organizations. Celebrities with well-known household names and great influence were recruited, and everything which could be mustered was pulled into action, all to reap some political capital from yet another Polish tragedy. One of Przemyk's friends, and the one who was leaving the militia station with him, now the main witness in the case, told a militiaman that "You won't forget me quickly!" a few hours before Przemyk's death. This witness, who was not only a friend of Przemyk, but was also friendly with his mother, took as many as 9 days to make a statement. Did it really take him 9 days to remember what he had seen and heard properly? Or was it that he just needed these 9 days for himself? Another important witness gave evidence only after a month, making his excuses on health grounds. However, his health did not prevent him from making public declarations or giving interviews to foreign journalists during this same period. These declarations and interviews were, of course, made in the spirit of specified expectations and needs.

We do not know what these witnesses said in the prosecutor's office, since the reports we have on the investigation are scant and concise. However, we learned from the last communique issued by the prosecutor's office that some of the evidence given by certain witnesses is conflicting and that even "some of the facts have been purposefully concealed from the prosecutors." Who could be interested in hiding the facts, or in making it more difficult to get to the truth of the matter?

Difficult and complicated investigations are still in progress. Their aim is to expose those responsible for the death of Grzegorz Przemyk. Blackmail, rumors, organized pressure, or heated emotions will change nothing. The guilty will be punished -- irrespective of who they are.

Investigations Continue

AU221406 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Jul 83 p 7

[PAP report: "The Stage of Investigations Into the Death of Grzegorz Przemyk"]

[Text] Referring to earlier communiques concerning the investigations into the death of Grzegorz Przemyk, the Warsaw Voivodship procurator states that these investigations are continuing.

The investigations are exceptionally complicated and difficult. According to the post-mortem and the opinions of two expert teams of specialists in forensic medicine and surgery, the cause of Grzegorz Przemyk' death was injury to intestinal mesenteries, especially that covering the large intestine, which led to peritonitis and then death.

The basic aim of the investigations is to estblish the circumstances behind Grzegorz Przemyk's fatal injuries. All possibilities are being examined to see whether he received his injuries before his apprehension on 12 May in the Castle Square, during his detention at the Citizens' Militia precinct, or after he had been taken from the precinct to the first aid center by ambulance.

Becuase there are so many versions of the event, it is necessary to investigate in detail each version using all available evidence -- interviewing witnesses, holding inspections, visiting the scene of the incident, and other experiments. It is also necessary to ask experts in forensic medicine, surgery, biology, and psychology for their opinion.

Differences in the testimony of some witnesses, and even the deliberate concealment of facts before the prosecutors, create exceptional difficulty. This results in the need to verify the truth of testimonies and also make witnesses confront one another, which serves to lengthen the investigations.

Recently, persons present in the first aid center in Warsaw on the day when Grzegorz Przemyk was brought there, that is, on 12 May, were made to visit the scene of the incident. The testimony of witnesses coupled with the results of the visit to the scene of the incident have presented important new details which could be important for estabishing the circumstances into G. Przemyk's injuries. This creates the need for a series of further investigations, including more complete forensic opinions.

Because of the already mentioned complicated nature of these investigations, the Warsaw Voivodship Prosecutor's Office has undertaken further investigations. They have been entrusted to a team of the most experienced prosecutors.

The community will be informed of further conclusions in these investigations.

More on Investigations

LD231258 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 23 Jul 83

[Text] The methods of political struggle are many and complex. Sometimes people fighting for power turn to the most brutal and cynical methods to seize somebody's dignity and freedom, often to seize what is mot intimate in man, his consciousness, ability to think. All this is a sad truth. But, particular revulsion must be evoked when a human death is being used to further this struggle.

Recently news has circulated in our community about the tragic death of a Warsaw school graduate, Grzegorz Przemyk. However, before the information concerning this fact was transformed from the rudimentary to the more specific, before the first witnesses made their depositions, and before the investigation started, it was announced to the entire world that Grzegorz Przemyk had been brutally murdered by the Militia.

This was done contrary to the facts, since these were not yet known, or rather instead of facts. Both at home and abroad all those who hate socialist Poland have decided, with amazing unanimity and in unison, to use this tragic event as an argument in a political adventure. The command to remain silent over human tragedy became unimportant. Pain and any kind of sympathy have ceased to count.

Only one thing mattered. Just as everything in Poland was heading for social calm, an opportunity has presented itself to disturb this calm to a lesser or greater degree. The investigation is in progress. It is a difficult, laborious, and important way to find the truth. What it is we still do not know. But, we do know, that the prosecution is meeting many difficulties in its work.

One of the important witnesses, a school friend of Przemyk's, has decided to give evidence, but only 10 days after the tragic event. Ten days is a very long time. In that time it is possible to obliterate many a trace. It is possible to forget many facts. Another important witness has made his depositions only after a month's delay. The excuse he gave was poor health. At the same time he gave numerous interviews to representatives of the Western press.

We will not summarize thse depositions for you. We do not know them. The official communique of the prosecutor's office states that they contain many discrepancies and denials. Several witnesses have received anonymous proposals to change their evidence and to treat this as good business. In each instance this applied to those who had not given evidence against the Militia. Attempts to blackmail many of them are being made. Maybe it would be easier for us to analyze all this, if the details of the investigation were familiar to us.

We must understand that for the time being they cannot become public property, in order for truth to come to light. We want to know this truth. We have the right to demand it. We will know it despite blackmail, pressures, or suggestions on the part of Western propaganda. An organized or incidental pressure will change nothing; those guilty will be punished, whomever they are.

LOBMAN COMMENTARY WARNS KOR, KPN ACTIVISTS

AU211700 Warsaw TRUBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jul 83 p 5

[Jerzy Lobman commentary: "The Anti-Galileans"]

[Excerpts] Legend has it that when Galileo Galilei, worn down by the Inquisition, finally signed the document in which he denied the Copernican theory of the earth's revolution, he whispered: "It is moving all the same."

Progress in normalization in our country is an objective truth and is proved by whatever each one of us experiences when going to work, to the movies, and a park on Sunday, when traveling to the border areas, and when returning home late at night from a party with friends.

Normalization is not to the liking only of the anti-Polish and antipeace forces in the west. This is precisely so, but can we really say "only?"

As the indefatigable Radio Free Europe reported in its Polish program on 13 July, a few "unbending princes" of the underground movement had issued a "statement" in which they simply asserted that the "abolition of martial law without eliminating the legislation introduced under its protection...will be merely a gesture without any major political significance. (What kind of legislation? The one on economic reform, or on workers' self-management bodies? The authors of the statement make light of the enormous reforming work done by the Sejm.... In their statement these gentlemen also asserted that neither the abolition of martial law nor an amnesty "will induce us to halt our activities."

As you can see, American aversion to narmalization in Poland is finding a response in various small groups of people in our country. This is because the "activities" of these groups serve no other purpose than to "prove" that martial law should not be abolished, that an amnesty should not be proclaimed, and that Poland -- to the joy of the enemies of peace and detente -- should be "not only a powder keg, but also a powder keg with a burning fuse."

The last sentence is not of my authorship. I have taken it from a long piece of writing that the Western press agencies presented not so long ago as Adam Michnik's letter that had been smuggled out of the prison in which he is awaiting the KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] trial. Regardless of whether this letter was written by Michnik or was composed in the West, it is a good example of the attitude and theses held by that small group of "unbending" people with the background of KOR and the Confederation for Independent Poland [KPN] and by the most extreme activists of former solidarity who have been trained by KOR or are KOR recruits. Washington is their infallible oracle and Poland's interests are for them an object of manipulation. As Michnik's "letter" states, they continue to hope that Poland "will again become a country of burning party committees." It is they who, when asked "whether accord is possible in Poland," stubbornly answer "no" despite the facts.

Since such a posture has hardly a chance of being tolerated by the broader segments of society, those who represent it are made into unbending fighters, a ploy which can always impress some people. The "letter" in question states in conclusion: "I will not sign any application for clemency. I did not belong to KOR and Solidarity in order to ask Jaruzelski for clemency...." This does not signify loyalty to the truth, conciliation, and national construction. It signifies loyalty to the "burning of party committees" and to that "no" to national accord, which means that it is not the obstinacy displayed by Galileo Galilei. It is an "anti--Galilean" posture which draws on the untruths from beyond the ocean and on the theses that are in conflict with our country's interests to build up a sense of one's own worth.

A small legal reservation: General Jaruzelski cannot exercise the right to clemency in our country. All acts of clemency are decided by the Sejm, which is the highest representation of our people, and are implemented by the State Council, which is a body of the Sejm. The leading members of KOR or the KPN, who are represented by Adam Michnik, have always seen themselves in the role of manipulators of our people and not in the role of their suppliants....

Is the posture described in the "letter" -- this posture has been carefully propagated by the anti-Polish radio stations exclusively in the form of "information"-- an exceptional case? No, it is not. This July the same Radio Free Europe publicized a letter written by Piotr Bednarz, who is "chairman" of Solidarity in Lower Silesia and who was convicted by Polish courts. Against obvious facts, Piotr Bednarz asserts that "oppression is becoming increasingly more intense" and relates this "fact" to the state of affairs that "has been imposed on us by the new balance of power in Europe." This is one more example of treating Poland as a means to an end and as a plaything of international actions.

Let us for a moment agree to Mr Bednarz's "interpretation" of events. Does this interpretation mean that under the conditions of another, pleasanter balance of power in Europe -- pleasanter because not "imposed" -- he would prefer to do his work not in Wroclaw but in Breslau? It would be interesting to know how he would do his work and long what lines.

The emigre people of the same frame of mind as Bednarz and Michnik answered frankly such questions when they wrote in the subversive publication KONTAKT last October: "If Yalta is such an irreversible curse that perhaps only a war could put an end to it, then more and more people will not only agree that a war is in the offing, but also expect an actual conflict." The logic of the objective significance of postures is inexorable. This is how people from KOR, the KPN, and Solidarity subscribe to the swelling cloud of the nuclear mushroom...

As we have said, such postures are not exceptional. Nor are they very numerous. Firebrand activities and those who engage in them are no social problem. This is why martial law should be abolished. Nonetheless, these hardboiled people, or small groups of them, do exist. What is more, their actions are definitely not the actions against this or that conduct of the authorities (such as, for example, martial law was). Their actions are simply hostile to the state and the people. As the aforementioned statement issued by the underground activists shows, these gentlemen intend to continue their actions regardless of what measures of normalization the authorities take.

He should, therefore, state most clearly one thing: The acts of amnesty are not some abstract acts of mercy in politics and social life. They are the results of a specific evaluation of the situation and are meant to serve a specific development of the situation. If these acts bring about renewed anarchy and the dangers of fratricide, then they would have to be denied.

The entire evolution of the situation shows that the overwhelming majority of our people understand and appreciate normalization. This is why the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth has now appealed for the abolition of martial law. But, as we can see, there are some few individuals who refuse to understand all this and are ready to destroy the calm build up with such great effort. It is out of the question that such individuals should hinder the country's general development toward a fully normal life. Nor is it possible that the general development toward normalization should enable these individuals to continue to ply their trade, which serves hostile interests. No state can tolerate this.

CIOSEK ON IMPLEMENTING 1980 SOCIAL ACCORDS

AU221615 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Jul 83 p 6

[PAP Correspondent Piotr Moczar interview with Stanislaw Ciosek, minister of labor, wages, and social affairs: "We Signed Accords With the Workers Class"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Moczar] The Western mass media and some politicians, especially those from NATO countries, continue to stubbornly proclaim the thesis that the Polish authorities have brutally trampled upon the social accords signed sith the workers class in 1980. The third anniversary of this signing is not faraway. As a government representative who is responsible for contacts with trade unions, for social problems, and for employment and wages, would you briefly comment on these Western allegations?

[Ciosek] These allegations are thoroughly false. Their authors are rather intentionally resolved to misinform public opinion in their countries about the development of the situation in Poland. They are not naive or ignorant of reality.

As Premier W. Jaruzelski said at the ninth party congress almost a year after the accords had been signed in Gdansk, Szczecin,, and Jstrzebie, it was impossible not to see the changes that had occurred in social conditions and the people's life. The workers class asked for wage and social concessions and many accords were signed. Expenditures on wage increases and social benefits were boosted by hundreds of millions of zlotys, the premier continued. The working time was reduced. All this was taking place against the elementary laws of economics, but we had justified hopes that increased wages and improved social conditions would help boost productivity and discipline and that the resulting production increases would match wage increases. This is not the case, however. The economy is regressing....

[Moczar] We all know what happened next. Following the ninth congress, the Solidarity leadership intensified its efforts which were resolutely and openly aimed at confrontation. The hopes attached to Solidarity proved to be futile. Manipulated by their advisors from the Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR] the Solidarity extremists tried to resolve the issue of the division of power and to undermine our constitutional principles and alliances. They acted in line with the slogan "the worse, the better," meaning that the worse the situation is the more people will ignore socialism and will be disappointed with the PZPR government. Nevertheless, it seems that the authorities remained loyal to the ideas of the social accords in question all that time....

[Ciosek] It is possible that many people have forgotten that the government commissions signed social accords with the protesting workers class and not with Solidarity and its leadership. It was the leading circles of Solidarity, which were set up as a result of the accords, that abandoned these accords and Solidarity statutes. These circles were manipulated by domestic opposition and by Western anticommunist organizations. As we remember, Solidarity organizers pledged themselves in these accords to be loyal to the principles of socialism, to recognize the leading role of the PZPR, to respect our alliances, and not to make Solidarity a political party.

As you can see the accords contained reciprocal pledges, but I do not have to tell you how things looked in practice. We all vividly remember the public statement made by Solidarity leaders to the effect that there can be no national agreement because there is no one to agree with. They chose the Polish economy as the basic plane of struggle against the socialist system in Poland in the knowledge that the deteriorated material situation sould stimulate the worker class to show its discontent anew.

[Moczar] Minister, there is no doubt history will severely evaluate the activities of the leaders and advisors of Solidarity. We can probably regard this chapter of our history as finally closed. However, the question is still open whether conditions will arise to meet all the obligations contracted in 1980.

[Ciosek] An analysis of the implementation of the accords in question shows that the progress of this implementation varies greatly from place to place. It is difficult to provide any general statistical data. Many of these accords -- there were several hundreds of them -- were signed in an uncoordinated manner, under the pressure of strikes. Some of these accords are simply unrealistic in the light of the economic situation and some are socially incorrect. If we wanted to fully implement all these accords today we would have to raise prices, print additional money, for which there would be nothing to buy in the shops, and increase payments for various benefits not connected with production. This would destablize the 1983-85 plan and truly demolish economic reform. This is the brutal truth that we cannot ignore with impudence.

The coerced wage increases in 1980 produced the results that were contrary to the true expectations of the working people. Fulfilling the demands that were not backed by production results leveled the wages of the basic groups of workers, which badly affected productivity, reduced production still further, and enriched small groups of people who profited by the crisis. Profiteering is an almost automatic phenomenon if the market is short of supplies and if the circulation of money is increased. You cannot swindle the laws of economics, because they operate regardless of dreams and hopes.

The destabilization of life was responsible for the fact that the accords, which were realistic propositions when they were signed, continued to become worthless collections of wistful thinking. As you know, we all believed that the accords were realistic. I hope you remember how the striking workers in the Gdansk shipyards, greeting the completion of negotiations, shouted: "And now to work! To make good the losses!" But what happened after that? We all remember vividly more strikes, strike preparations, and protest actions. Solidarity leaders supported and stimulated all social demands, regardless of whether they could be met and regardless of social justice and commonsense. The economy was in flames but they continued to pour oil into them.

Today we can make a general statement that on the whole the demands made by the strikers in 1980 have been met as regards wages and social conditions. However, a number of economic questions are still unsolved because it is difficult and at times even impossible to solve them in the conditions of our crisis.

[Moczar] You have mentioned the questions that it is impossible to positively solve at present. However, the decisions made with regard to many areas continue to be consistently implemented....

[Ciosek] This is true. A list of these decisions is long. The government has on three occasions publicly presented detailed reports on the implementation of the social accords. The press has published them.

However, let us again confront Poland's real potential with the letter of these accords. For example, the immediate implementation of the demand "that every family should possess an apartment within the next 5 years" would mean that we would have to build some 300,000 apartments a year more than we did in the best years of our housing construction -- that is, about 600,000 apartments a year. If we tried to do this we would not have been able to build anything aside from apartments -- not a single hospital, kindergarten, factory, shop, and school. We would have been able to build nothing except apartments!

[Moczar] Has not the year 1982, which was a year of a large slump in the living standards of our population, produced a weakening in the rate of implementing the social policy resulting from the social accords?

[Ciosek] This policy has just assumed a different character. We had to make very determined efforts to protect the economically weakest groups of people -- families with many children, single mothers with children, and so on. Even if this policy produced equal wages and weakened incentives to work, for humanitarian considerations we had to protect the weakest because of a sharp drop in real incomes.

[Moczar] You have discussed at length the implementation of the social accords in the economic and social areas. Let us now discuss sociopolitical demands which, as we know, were dominant in the Gdansk accord. Unfortunately, they were exploited later on by Solidarity in its struggle against the power apparatus....

[Ciosek] The government is taking a positive view of the political decisions included in the social accords, and this is attested to by the impartial facts. For example, as you know we pledged to draw up a trade union bill that would guarantee the right to strike and the independence and self-governing character of the trade union movement. The trade union law passed in the fall of 1982 is consistent with the postulates of the Gdansk accord. At the same time the 10th Central Committee plenum resolution defined relations between the party and trade unions. It clearly stated that there can be no question of any subordination of trade union bodies to party bodies. However, both the law and the resolution do not mean that the party ceases to play the leading role vis-a-vis trade unions that did recognize this role in the social accords. The trade union law grants trade unionists the right to strike, but makes it impossible for them to abuse this weapon for the purposes of blind strike terrorism. The law in question guarantees for trade unions the possibility of publicly assessing the decisions that determine the working people's living standards. This is one of the demands included in the Gdansk accord. As the Gdansk accord envisaged, the trade union movement, which is now regenerating itself, possesses extensive legal powers and all attributes of independence and self-government.

The demand that private farming be based on firm foundations has also been fulfilled in practice, as attested to be changes in the law. The principle that private farms will stay forever will now be written into the Constitution.

[Moczar] A number of branch and regional accords were also signed. Accords were signed in Rzeszow and Ustrzyki....

[Ciosek] It seems to me that discussing the implementation of all such accords exceeds the terms of this interview. However, I would like once again to state that we did not sign social accords with Solidarity extremists. We signed them with the workers class, which had good reasons for being discontented. This is why we are determined to observe to the very end the ideas contained in these accords, although the solution of many problems, mainly economic ones, has to be staggered in time because of economic difficulties.

NATIONAL UNITY FRONT REVIEWED AS IT CLOSES

AU221635 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Jul 83 p 2

[Marek Jurkowicz report: "The Permanent Values of the National Unity Front"]

[Text] A few days ago, on 16 July, the last session of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the National Unity Front took place in Warsaw. During the meeting the participants were familiarized with the position taken by the Central Commission for Cooperation between the PZPR, and ZSL, and the SD on terminating the activities of the National Unity Front.

The history, since we can already use this term, of the Front spans almost a quarter of a century. It is the history of a social movement that was active in the widest social communities and ventured on a campaign extending throughout Poland. It is also for these reasons that we must wait a little longer before an appraisal of the Front can be made. Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council, said of the Front at its last session, "It will find historians who will assess its role, make a list of its good and bad points, and explain its beginning as well as its end in the light of specific political determinants."

However; the basic feature of this appraisal will undoubtedly be the front's permanent output. Seen in the light of current events, these achievements are great and impressive, achievements like the construction of almost 8,000 classrooms, 1,800 culture and community centers, 43,000 kilometers of roads, and the planting of 10-12 million trees per annum, all through social funds.

However, these great achievements are hardly anything in comparison to the broader aspects of the Front's activities, namely the way the Front cultivated and developed the theory of social activeness in its widest possible sense. The Front was, in this field, a conscious successor to the best Polish traditions of welfare work, which it often gave a new shape to, that was more in line with the modern-day conditions, of life. Using the experiences of Poland's housing cooperative industry in self-government as an example, the front developed and took advantage of the increase of the network of settlement committees which bound together over a quarter million welfare workers. Evidence of the good appraisal of these workers' output and experiences is the fact that the draft law on national councils and regional self-governing bodies, which was submitted today to the Sejm, gives these representative bodies considerable authority on which basic regional self-governing bodies will be formed in the future. This example can be supplemented by others, such as the Front's contribution to developing the regional movement, fighting to protect the environment, and preserving monuments.

The Front's many initiatives occupied an important place in the practices connected with public and social affairs, such as its collection for the National Fund for Health Protection and the good-management movement which culminates in annual competitions to find the best manager. The Front showed a touching concern for children, particularly during the most difficult period of the 1981 crisis when it appointed the Childrens' Committee and the National Childrens Fund, which immediately brought assistance to our youngsters.

Today it is worth remembering the permanent features of the Front's output, even if only in brief, in order to express our esteem for the real creators of this output, the tens and thousands of welfare workers who carried out work that was very useful in their communities and simply built a Poland of their dreams as best they could and with the best of intentions. I believe that today the best thanks we can give the Front's members for their work is to creatively continue their work and output and allow them to develop their own creative potential more fully, accomplish their welfare ambitions, and enrich the process of socialist renewal with their new initiatives.

Both the party and the state administration believe in the Front's permanent values. This belief found its true expression in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) -- Front's successor. While taking over the Front's best traditions at its first congress in May, PRON expressed its esteem for the permanent values which the Front contributed to the affairs of Polish society. "Our movement," says the resolution adopted at the PRON Congress, "will draw on the work that has so far been done by the Front, enriching and developing it to suit our times."

NIK OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON GUARDING PUBLIC ORDER

WA221630 Poznan GLOS WIELKOPOLSKI in Polish 5 Jul 83 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Jozef Adamczyk, director of the Supreme Control Chamber's (NIK) commission in Poznan, by Kazimierz Brzezicki: "Guardians of Public Order"]

[Text] [Brzezicki] A meeting of the NIK leadership aktiv was held at the end of June. What matters were raised?

[Adamczyk] The main courses of action for the second half of this year were outlined. In addition to routine matters, the process of applying economic reform, implementing the conservation and anti-inflation program, management efficiency, increase in labor productivity and improvement in the quality of production will be of the most interest to us. Much attention will be given to inspecting the supply of the basic means of production to agriculture.

[Brzezicki] There was talk about the NIK two years ago. Settling the accounts of the so-called prominent people convinced everybody that the NIK does play favorites. What happened to the materials being collected?

[Adamczyk] They were forwarded to the prosecuting agencies. The public prosecutor's office and the courts are handling them now. Certain trials are continuing, and others have already ended.

[Brzezicki] What else is the NIK doing?

[Adamczyk] We are fulfilling our legal duties. They include opinions rendered on reports about the fulfillment of socioeconomic plans submitted by the governors to the provincial people's councils.

[Brzezicki] What are the views of NIK regarding the reports of the governors?

[Adamczyk] We have a completely different view on certain matters than the administrative offices. We are investigating the application of economic reform. There are negative aspects in this regard. The enterprises, which are aiming at financial independence, are striving for profit which is unwarranted in terms of costs.

[Brzezicki] Let's get back to the assessment of the reports regarding the fulfillment of the socioeconomic plans.

[Adamczyk] Reform has occasionally been instrumental in increasing highly profitable production at the cost of social needs. This pertains primarily to agriculture. The number of young feeder cattle was reduced, and in the socialized enterprises, the number of hogs also. Agricultural producers began to give priority to crop production. We observed the breaking of coproduction ties between enterprises; it was not profitable for some of them to fulfill their obligations.

[Brzezicki] Did the NIK really encounter only the negative aspects?

[Adamczyk] Of course not! There are also positive aspects, such as the providing of state-controlled foodstuffs for the people by the state administrative agencies and the combating of speculation. It is very labor-intensive to examine the various aspects of our economy. It is necessary to analyze hundreds of documents in order to be able to take a position. But because of this work, the councilmen are receiving a document, which is an alternative to the governor's report, and can check the reliability of the report.

[Brzezicki] Who recommends to the NIK that an inspection be conducted?

[Adamczyk] We are an agency of the Sejm; therefore, we are working to fulfill its requirements. The provincial people's council may request that an inspection be conducted. We also receive indications from the people that induces us to conduct an inspection.

[Brzezicki] Do you recall any indications from the people?

[Adamczyk] We willingly listen to all comments, suggestions, and complaints. We send minor matters to the appropriate agencies because we handle the complicated matters. The low quality of soup in a snack bar or beverages is not a matter for the NIK. Nonetheless, we require a response from the agencies to which we forward a matter on how the matter was settled.

[Brzezicki] How is cooperation arranged between the NIK and other inspection agencies?

[Adamczky] Our major allies include the Treasury Office, State Trade Inspectorate(PIH), State Sanitary Inspectorate (PIS), State Agricultural Administration (PAR), Office of Prices, etc. We are cooperating ever more extensively with social control committees; we want to have their authority increased.

[Brzezicki] Can you say a few words about the work of the NIK inspector?

[Adamczky] He is an authorized NIK employee who has the right to enter any institution and look at any documentation and can appoint experts and convene meetings with employees.

[Brzezicki] What happens when an inspector finds irregularities?

[Adamczyk] If there are any, they are violations. He verbally informs management or issues a temporary directive in order to eliminate the irregularity. If time is needed to eliminate it, a deadline is stipulated in a post-inspection directive. If, however, a crime is committed, a prosecuting agency is notified.

[Brzezicki] Do the tasks of NIK also include preventive measures? What does it rely on?

[Adamczyk] We are obviously striving also to prevent many irregularities. I will give an example. It is well known that a "large river of milk is to flow" soon. We are already checking now whether the milk cooperative system is able to process it, and the commercial system is able to sell it. We can not allow even a liter to be wasted.

[Brzezicki] What are the immediate intentions of the NIK?

[Adamczyk] We are joining in to combat social pathology. We want to increase the awareness of the inspectors, so that they can devote, during an inspection, special attention to matters, such as lack of discipline, noncompliance with organizational regulations, protection of property, and distribution of material goods. We also want to have the agencies for interplant inspection and supervision to function reliably. Much depends on their work and effectiveness.

PAP REPORT ON TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS

LD252122 Warsaw PAP in English 2012 GMT 25 Jul 83

[Text] Warsaw 25 July -- Half a year after the bill on trade unions took effect, groups, founding committees and full-fledged, registered organizations have been active in 27,000 enterprises, meaning that the trade union movement has resumed activity in nearly 90 per cent of all enterprises where it is allowed to operate. A total of more than 16,000 new factory union cells have been registered till the end of June with above three million people having applied for membership. Workers constitute between 60 and 80 per cent of the membership along with representatives of all trends previously operating within the trade union movement. Nonparty members make up about 60 percent of the total membership.

Satisfactory has been the influx to the unions of young people and technological medium executive staff, mainly foremen of various grades. Although young people are a definite minority among trade unionists, they are surprisingly numerously elected to the executive bodies of the new unions.

The difficulties on the way toward the reconstruction of union structures have as their foot, among other things, the pressure exerted on union activists by the so-called "political underground" advertising the line of boycott and picturing the present solutions as provisional. Many instances of exerting brutal pressure and various forms of bullying have been recorded, primarily in the Wroclaw, Gdansk and Walbrzych Voivodships.

In July, seven months after the unions resumed their activities, strong tendencies toward the formation of suprafactorial trade union representations have been noted, particularly in agriculture, metallurgy and mining industries, education and in the national vehicle transport company PKS. Such suprafactorial organizations have so far been registered among agriculture and foundry workers, with a number of others awaiting registration in the near future.

LEADERS GREET MPR COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL DAY

AU130938 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Jul 83 p 1

[Text] To Comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, secretary general of the Mongolian Peoples Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Mongolian Peoples Republic [MPR] Great People's Hural, and to Comrade Jambyn Batmonh, chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers, in Ulaanbaatar:

To mark the 62d anniversary of the victory of the people's revolution, we convey to you, dear comrades, to the MPRP Central Committee, to the Presidium of the MPR Great People's Hural, and to the entire Mongolian nation, sincere greetings and best wishes on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee and of the PPR State Council and Council of Ministers.

The victory of the people's revolution changed Mongolia's history. Under the leadership of the MPRP, the Mongolian nation has achieved deep social transformations and success in the country's socialist construction, and is constantly strengthening the bonds of friendship and close cooperation with the countries of the socialist community.

The MPR's foreign policy is enjoying recognition, as well as its activities aimed at establishing permanent peace, security, and international cooperation in Asia.

We declare with satisfaction that based on the ideological unity of our parties and mutually advantageous cooperation between the PPR and the MPR, bilateral relations are developing favorably and Polish-Mongolian friendship is strengthening.

On Mongolia's national day we wish you, esteemed comrades, and through you the entire Mongolian nation, new achievements in implementing the ambitious tasks laid down at the 18th MPRP Congress concerning Mongolia's socialist construction and its further development and success.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers; Henryk Jablonski, PPR State Council Chairman

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES CYPRIOT DEFENSE MINISTER

AU251735 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1555 GMT 25 Jul 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 25/7/1983 -- Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu, supreme commander of the Armed Forces, received on July 25 Khristodhoulos Veniamin, minister of the interior and of defence of the Republic of Cyprus, who is paying an official visit to Romania at head of a military delegation.

The interview occasioned an exchange of cordial greetings between the presidents of Romania and Cyprus.

During the interview reverence was made to the traditional relations of friendship and collaboration established between the two countries and peoples, relations which amplified following especially the measures taken during the Romanian-Cypriot summit dialogue. The wish was highlighted to further develop and deepen the fine relations between Romania and Cyprus in the interests of both peoples, of the cause of peace, detente, security and collaboration in the Balkans, in Europe and all over the world.

Current international issues were also approached and in that context, concern was shown over the particularly complex international situation which places the policy of detente and the peoples' independence and peace in jeopardy.

The need was highlighted for all peoples' intensified fight for the cessation of the arms race, for disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, for the peaceful, negotiated settlement of the states of tension and conflict in various parts of the world. The importance was brought to the fore of the creation of denuclearized zones in the Balkans and in other regions of the continent. In that framework, the signif-icance was highlighted of developing bi- and multilateral relations amont the Balkan countries, of developing relations of good neighbourliness, understanding and collabora-tion among them.

In connection with the Cyprus issue it was shown that a just and durable political solution should be reached through negotiations providing for the observance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

The interview proceeded in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

The interview was attended by Colonel-General Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defence.

PREMIER RECEIVES LIBYAN COMMUNICATIONS SECRETARY

AU251657 Bucharest AGERPRES 25/7/1983 -- On Monday, July 15, Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania, received Salim al-Bukhari Hudah, secretary of the General People's Committee for communications and maritime transport of Libya.

During the interview aspects were approached of the development of the Romanian-Libyan collaboration in transport and telecommunications.

CEAUSESCU SPEECHES DURING MOZAMBIQUE VISIT

Toast To Machel

AU210928 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Jul 83 p 3

[Toast by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at 18 July Maputo Dinner Given in his Honor by Mozambique President Samora Moises Machel]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Chairman of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party and president of the People's Republic of Mozabique, Samora Machel; Esteemed Comrade Garcia Machel; esteemed comrades of the Frelimo Party leadership and of the Mozambique Government; comrades and friends: We are glad to once again visit the People's Republic of Mozambique and to meet you, the state and Frelimo Party leaders, and the friendly Mozambican people, enthusiastic and heroic fighters for their fatherland's independence and for socialism. (applause)

We wish to express thanks for the warm reception that you and the residents of your beautiful capital have accorded us, and for the friendly and comradely hospitality we are enjoying on Mozambican soil.

The visit we are paying to your country is an expression of the traditional relations of friendship and solidarity that were established and have constantly developed between the RCP and the Frelimo Party ever since the difficult years of the heroic struggle waged by the Mozambican people for national liberation, for independence, and for forging a new and free life. (applause)

The RCP and Socialist Romania have always actively supported the struggle for national liberation, against imperialism and colonialism, and have been in solidarity with the peoples who were struggling for independence. Within this framework, the Romanian people have granted active internationalist support to the Mozambican people's national liberation struggle, they have shown full solidarity with this struggle led by Frelimo. Our party and people hailed the Mozambican people's victory as an important stage in eliminating colonial domination, in ensuring independence and the country's free development, and in Mozambique's embarking on the road to building the new socialist system. The victory of the Mozambican and of other peoples in Africa forcefully demonstrates that colonial domination is drawing to a close, that nothing and no one can stop the peoples' will to live freely, independently, and peacefully, and to build the life they desire, without any outside interference!

We met with Comrade Samora Machel several times previously in the difficult times of the struggle for independence. We valued the firm and revolutionary position held by Comrade Samora Machel. We are glad that under today's new conditions Romanian-Mozambican friendship and solidarity have gained a new content and larger scope in the interest of the socioeconomic progress of the two countries and peoples, of building the new social system, and of the cause of peace and international coooperation. The Romanian-Mozambican Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, as well as the understandings and agreements which we agreed upon together have opened up large horizons for cooperation and collaboration between our countries on the road to progress, socialism, and building a free, dignified, and happy life for our peoples.

During the current visit we want to seek new ways and means to raise Romanian-Mozambican cooperation and collaboration to the highest possible level in all fields of common interest for our countries and people.

We believe that great possibilities exist for developing mutually advantageous cooperation even more, particularly in a number of important sectors, a fact that will ensure the implementation of the goals aimed at eliminating underdevelopment and at building socialism in Mozambique, and that will contribute to developing friendship and cooperation between the two peoples.

Comrade Samora Machel today spoke about the Fourth Frelimo Party Congress decisions and about certain important results achieved by the Mozambican people in their development process. He also spoke about a number of difficulties and efforts that have to be made to surmount them.

We know from our own experience that socialist construction poses difficult problems, that the elimination of underdevelopment and the construction of a new social system require sustained efforts on the part of the entire people; they require a powerful and united party with a firm revolutionary line (applause), and they require unity among all forces and all people and the party in order to ensure socioeconomic development.

Being familiar with the past struggles waged by the Frelimo Party and the revolutionary spirit of Comrade Samora Machel and of your party leadership, I would like to express the conviction -- without interfering in your affairs -- that the Frelimo Party has the necessary forces available to implement the fourth congress decisions and to build socialism in Mozambique. (applause)

As friends and comrades-in-arms, we want to cooperate to a greater extent in achieving those targets. We are firmly convinced that socialism is the only means for all peoples who want to eliminate underdevelopment and ensure a dignified and free life. (loud applause)

Esteemed Comrade President Samora Machel, esteemed comrades, the international situation is characterized by particular tension as a result of the unprecedented accentuation of the arms race, of the maintenance and aggravation of certain conflicts and tension, of the policy of the use or threat of force, of interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and of maintaining and redividing the spheres and zones of influence. All this greatly endangers the peoples' freedom and independence, and the security and peace of the whole of minkind.

At the same time, a new policy, opposed to the policy of force and dictate, is developing in the world; the peoples' struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and for national independence, cooperation, detente, and peace is constantly intensifying.

We are convinced that in the confrontation between those two policies and tendencies in the world arena, the victory will be on the side of the peoples and of the anti-imperialist forces who, through uniting their efforts and cooperating more closely, will be able to stop the dangerous trend of events toward a war, toward a catastrophe, and who will be able to ensure the firm assertion of the policy of peace, independence, and international cooperation!

A great amount of weapons, especially nuclear weapons, has been stockpiled in the world which can destroy the entire world several times over. Therefore, we believe that the basic problem of our time is to halt the arms race and to proceed to disarmament, primarity nuclear disarmament, to freezing and cutting back on military expenditures and achieving a military balance not on the basis of new weapons, but by reducing existing ones to the lowest possible level.

Romania is against the deployment in Europe of intermediate range nuclear missiles, for withdrawing and destroying the ones in place, and for a united Europe of cooperation and peace, without any kind of nuclear weapons.

We hail with satisfaction the agreement reached at the Madrid meeting that ensures the convening in 1984 of the conference on trust and disarmament in Europe and the development of the process of security and cooperation begun in Helsinki. The positive results that have been achieved at the Madrid conference once again demonstrate that there are no problems that cannot be resolved by negotiations when there is political will, reason, a constructive spirit, and a desire to cooperate, and when one does not proceed from narrow interests, but from the people's major interests in peace and security throughout the world.

There are numerous conflicts and states of tension in the world that may unleash a war with serious consequences for the whole of mankind. Romania has always advocated and continues to advocate the solution of all problems and conflicts between countries by peaceful means and negotiations alone, by proceeding from the interests of peace, security, and international cooperation, and from each people's right to develop freely and independently. No matter how difficult or long such negotiations may be, they represent the only means and the only alternative to war.

For this reason, we believe that efforts to achieve a comprehensive, just, and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem must be intensified to achieve peace on the basis of Israel's withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967, of recognizing the Palestinian people's legitimate rights -- including their right to self-determination and creating their own independent Palestinian state -- and on the basis of ensuring the integrity, independence, and sovereignty of all countries in that area.

Romania believes that the PLO is the legitimate and sole representative of the Palestinian people. Therefore, it must participate in all negotiations and in the settlement of Middle East problems. More than ever, this requires strengthening unity and solidarity within the PLO. (applause) Only by acting will it be able to fulfill the mission entrusted to it by the Palestinian people!

We advocate the immediate withdrawal of the Israeli troops from Lebanon and the ensurance of the national independence and sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Lebanon.

We actively support the people's struggle to completely eliminate colonial domination so that they are able to develop freely and in a sovereign manner. We are fully in solidarity with the Namibian people who, under the leadership of their legitimate representative -- SWAPO [South-West African People Organization] -- are struggling against Namibia's illegal occupation by South Africa, for independence and socioeconomic development on the new road. We advocate the immediate application of the UN Security Council resolutions on Namibia's independence. We firmly condemn the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid and the aggressive actions by South Africa against Mozambique and other independent states in that area. (applause)

Romania advocates the achievement in various parts of the world -- including the Balkans -- of nuclear-free zones, without foreign military bases. In this spirit, we support the peoples' struggle in the Indian Ocean region for demilitarizing it to ensure that there are no nuclear weapons and foreign military bases in that area. (applause)

Taking into account the complex problems of the international situation, we believe that the African people must do all they can to further strengthen their solidarity and unity in the struggle to fully and definitively eliminate colonialism and any kind of imperialist domination and oppression, to defend and consolidate national independence and to advance on the road of socioeconomic progress. For this purpose, the OAU must play an increasingly important role in uniting the African countries' efforts aimed at their independent socioeconomic development.

An ardent imperative of our time is to eliminate underdevelopment and establish a new international economic order, without which world economic stability and a world of peace and cooperation cannot be achieved. It is necessary for the developing countries to strengthen their unity and cooperation so that they are able to conduct negotiations with the developed countries to resolve the complex economic problems in a spirit of equality.

There are numerous problems in the international arena that must be solved in a new and democratic manner with the participation, on an equal foting, of all states, irrespective of size or social system. An increasingly important role is to be played by the small and medium-sized countries, by the developing and nonaligned countries, which represent the great majority of states in the world and are directly interested in a policy of equality, national independence, cooperation, and peace.

The role of the United Nations and of other international organizations in resolving the serious political and economic problems of the present-day world must increase even more.

Socialist Romania is developing broad relations with all world countries, irrespective of social system. We certainly pay particular attention to relations with the socialist countries (applause), with the countries advocating the road of socialist construction, and with all developing and nonaligned countries. At the same time, our country is also developing relations with the developed capitalist countries in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence. We base our relations with all countries on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and respect for each people's right to freely choose its development road, without any outside interference.

We pay great attention to the large peace movements of the progressive forces and of the peoples everywhere. We are firmly convinced that by acting in complete unity, the peoples will be able to stop the trend toward catastrophe and to ensure the vital right of peoples and nations to existence, life, and peace. (applause) We are sure that the future belongs to the free and independent peoples, it belongs to a better and more just world, without oppressors, without imperialists!

In conclusion, I would like to express the conviction that the visit and the talks we began today will open up new prospects for multifaceted cooperation between our parties and peoples. What we wish is that the relations of cooperation that were established between our parties during the struggle against colonialism will become more and more powerful and develop under the new conditions of the struggle for free development and for building the socialist society. (loud applause)

I wish the friendly Mozambican people increasingly greater successes in their socio-economic development, in strengthening the fatherland's independence and sovereignty, and in socialist construction. (applause)

I want to raise this glass to constantly strengthening friendship and cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of Mozambique; the friendship and solidarity between the RCP and Frelimo; the unshakable friendship between the Romanian people and the Mozambican people; the good health of Comrade Samora Machel and Comrade Graca Machel; peace, cooperation, and socialism! And to the health of all of you! (loud applause)

Address at Signing Ceremony

AU210821 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Jul 83 p 1

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu at the 19 July document-signing ceremony in Maputo]

[Text] Comrade Samora Machel: I want to express my complete satisfaction with the documents we signed today and with the excellent results of our visit to Mozambique. Indeed, these documents will serve as a foundation for a lasting and many-sided cooperation between our parties and peoples. They are based on the traditional solidarity and cooperation between our parties dating back to the period of your national liberation struggle. They are based on currently prevailing realities and are designed to provide a sound foundation for the socioeconomic development of Mozambique and Romania, and for expanding our cooperation in building a socialist society. These documents open up wonderful prospects for the future of our peoples.

There is no doubt that the implementation of the agreements we have just concluded will ensure a sound and permanent cooperation between our peoples. The difference in levels of development between our countries should not constitute an obstacle, but on the contrary, should bring about an even closer cooperation. We must strengthen our solidarity and active cooperation in order to successfully build socialism.

As I have mentioned, Mozambique has wonderful resources for building socialism. It has wonderful people and a party with a clear socialist orientation. It has revolutionary cadres steeled in the liberation struggle and a party-state leader who has proven in the course of the struggle his determination to follow the road to socialism. To that we must add Mozambique's natural resources, and its cooperation with friendly countries, such as its cooperation with Romania.

We believe that the documents we signed today and the future cooperation between our parties and peoples demonstrate that two peoples, separated by great distance and located on different continents, and with different levels of development can work together very well when they are inspired by a feeling of solidarity and brotherhood and by a desire to jointly promote their well-being. At the same time, I am convinced that our solidarity and cooperation will serve the policy of peace and the cause of socialism throughout the world.

We hope that a lasting peace and a policy of equal cooperation among all the nations, based on principles of equality, respect for independence, and noninterference in internal affairs, will be established in southern and all of Africa, in Europe, and throughout the world. Naturally, the relations between our parties and peoples are also based, in addition to the above principles, on fraternal international solidarity.

I would like to raise a glass to a lasting cooperation between our parties and peoples, between Romania and Mozambique!

I wish Mozambique ever greater successes along the path of independence and socialism!

To the health of my friend and comrade, Samora Machel!

To the health of all of you! (applause)

Speech to Port Workers

AU210940 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Jul p 3

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu during his 19 July tour of Maputo harbor]

[Text] Dear comrades and friends: I want to begin by conveying to you warm and revolutionary greetings from the Romanian workers. (loud applause)

There are long-standing relations of cooperation between the RCP and Frelimo [Mozambique Libration Front], dating back to your struggle against colonialism and for national independence. We are now strengthening this cooperation in the struggle against underdevelopment and for building a society that can ensure a better, happier, and free life for the workers, peasants, working people, and the entire nation. (loud applause)

Comrade Samora Machel and I agreed to promote broad cooperation in many areas of activity. We thus hope to actively cooperate in building socialism in Mozambique. (loud applause)

The Romanian people -- who staged their revolution 40 years ago -- have successfully built a socialist society. Socialism alone can eliminate under development, secure equal rights for the workers, peasants, and intellectuals, and ensure that the workers become masters and leaders of their country! (lively applause)

The Fourth Frelimo Congress worked out a program for building a socialist society. We would like to participate in implementing this program and to strengthen the cooperation between the Romanian and Mozambican peoples. (loud applause)

As you know, Frelimo has fulfilled its mission and has led the Mozambican people to independence. Consequently, you can be assured -- as we are -- that it will fulfill its mission in building socialism and in building a strong Mozambique, in which the people can live in prosperity and happiness. (loud applause)

We know that there are still many difficulties. We also had many difficulties. Socialism is not easily built; however, there is no other road than the socialist road, and the workers must be the main builders and leaders of the socialist construction! The Frelimo Party and its unity must be consolidated. Frelimo is the party of workers and peasants; it is your party, and you must ensure its strength and implement the program designed to ensure the people's prosperity and the fatherland's independence!

At the same time, we must struggle for peace and must help nations -- such as Namibia -- win their independence. We must compel South Africa to give up apartheid and interference in the affairs of Mozambique and of other countries. (loud applause)

If they act in unity, the nations can ensure peace and the independence of each people. We must strengthen the solidarity between the Romanian and Mozambican workers. (loud applause) There is a group of Romanians working here together with Mozambicans. We must develop such cooperation in other areas, too. I would be pleased to host, and I am now inviting a delegation of workers of this enterprise to visit Romania. (loud applause)

Dear comrades and friends, I wish you ever greater successes in your work. I wish you prosperity and happiness!

Long live the cooperation and solidarity between Romanian and Mozambican workers! (loud applause)

Long live the militant solidarity between the RCP and Frelimo! (loud applause)

Long live peace and national independence! (loud applause)

I wish you good health! (loud and prolonged applause)

I want to express profound thanks to you. I will always remember my meeting with the workers of this enterprise, because the workers are Mozambique's strength and the guarantee for the victory of socialism! (loud and prolonged applause)

MARKOVIC ADDRESSES LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE

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["Integral Text of Dragoslav Markovic Speech at LCY Central Committee Session" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jul (TANJUG) -- At today's session of the LCY Central Committee we are to consider the final document of the long-term program of economic stabilization, adopt our attitude to it and more fully perceive the tasks of the League of Communists in the struggle for the consistent realization of the policy of economic stabilization through the further development of socialist self-management.

Discussing questions of socioeconomic relations, economic problems as a whole and economic development at all levels (from the basic organizations to this Central Committee), and taking part in the work of the Commission for Problems of Economic Stabilization of the Federal Social Councils, the League of Communists made a decisive contribution to the successful conclusion of the 2-year's voluminous work, in which numerous creative forces of our society were involved.

The LCY Central Committee was involved in all the processes of the preparation of the long-term program of economic stabilization. A large number of members of the Central Committee were directly involved in this work as members of the Commission for Economic Stabilization, or through the work of the social councils and the working bodies of the commission. The LCY Central Committee Presidium several times discussed individual ideopolitical questions that posed themselves in the course of the commission's work. At its session on 19 July this year, the LCY Central Committee Presidium adopted draft conclusions for the LCY Central Committee's consideration and adoption. In the conclusions that it offers, the LCY Central Committee Presidium proposes the adoption of a positive attitude on the final document and the League of Communists' most important tasks, on the basis of which all its members, organizations, and leaderships will establish their most concrete tasks concerning the realization of the major goals placed before the whole of our community (to the extent to which it is possible at this moment). The conclusions proceed from the assessment that in terms of our social development the long-term stabilization program represents a platform for ideopolitical activity of the greatest social and political importance. It concerns questions of overcoming the present major difficulties and contradictions in social reproduction, but at the same time it also represents a platform for long-term socioeconomic development on foundations provided by self-management.

The long-term stabilization program is an expression of our assessments and ideopolitical interpretation of the present juncture in economic development and in the development of socialist self-managing relations. In determining our lines of development and our tasks, account is taken of the exceptionally significant results thus far achieved in material, political, and overall social development. No individual failures, which have certainly occured, can cancel our results in economic development, in the development of economic resources, in enabling the working people to master modern production processes. Without this basis it would not be objectively possible today to discuss such orientations and tasks in our further social development.

The work of the Commission for Economic Stabilization of the Federal Council should as a whole be assessed positively.

There is no doubt that a vast amount of work was done with the participation of several hundred experts, scientific workers, economic leaders, and presidents of sociopolitical organizations and organs. The experiences gained in the course of this work will also be useful in the future in the course of resolving the most important social and economic questions. It is a particularly significant fact that during the previous period the work of the commission provided a useful basis for achieving accord in a series of cases in the broader community with regard to ways and orientation, and even a number of concrete solutions in the field of our current economic policy and policy of development. It has already become the basis for resolving a series of problems in our economy and the conclusion of the work of the Commission for Economic Stabilization will make it possible to make a comprehenisve approach to the carrying out and application of the strategy contained in the aforementioned documents. Thus, the work of the commission has provided us with a jointly coordinated basis for our further activities concerning economic stabilization.

In places one can hear the view that that there are compromises and cases of vagueness in the documents of the Commission on Stabilization. It is certain, however, that all the proposals made in them are within the limits of and in line with our program orientations, and that this is what at the present stage of our social development represents our joint realization and our coordinated attitudes and interests. It should be stated that the document possesses a specific quality precisely because it reflects the existing realities and the objectively present pluralism of self-management interests in our community. In the present stage of development, such a realistic and at the same time principled document also represents the basis, support and prerequisite for the realization of both topical and strategic orientations. This is what we all have jointly agreed and what we are all ready to do. Through the discussion at today's session we should verify the ideopolitical character and essence of the basic orientations in the long-term stabilization program and adopt political attitudes on this, which will serve us in the broader political action. After that, we must all have a uniform attitude toward the document and the action aimed at implementing it. It goes without saying that this cannot represent the final word on every single question, because we are faced with the task of finding concrete solutions for the implementation of the program of economic stabilization and will have to answer any fresh questions posed by development.

It is essential to stress that with respect to the internal and external, international, economic, and political conditions of the contemporary and further development of our society, we have in recent years found ourselves in new relations and circumstances. We have attained the level of a medium-developed country, but at this stage disproportions in the structure of the economy and other discords in social reproduction have manifested themselves more strongly. Weaknesses and inconsistencies in economic and developmental policy, and primarily slow and inadequate reaction to unfavorable trends in the international economy, have resulted in a deepening of the discord between production and consumption and a high level of inflation and market disruptions, all of which has had the effect of slowing down the rate of economic growth and dramatically exacerbating the problem of the country's foreign liquidity.

The directions of trends in the world economy continue to be very unfavorable. One cannot say with any certainty that the announced revival of economic activity in the developed countries is really taking place. The developing countries suffer most from the consequences of protectionism and discrimination owing to the developed countries' efforts to offload the burden of the economic crisis on to the developing countries. This was also confirmed at the Seventh Summit of the Nonaligned Countries in New Delhi.

The latest events, including the UNCTAD in Belgrade, demonstrate that the developed countries are stubbornly defending their monopolistic positions and that as yet not even initial practical steps have been taken toward building a new world economic order. The international trading system, and the monetary system in particular, is in a serious state of crisis, which has not even spared the relations between the developed countries. This crisis has clearly exposed the numerous weaknesses in international economic relations, and also the insurmountable contradictions of bourgeois society as a system of social relations which offers no prospect for solution of open economic and social problems. All this indicates that the external conditions in which we are to implement the economic stabilization program are difficult and very unfavorable. We are also subject to external pressures -- economic, political and ideological. This makes our task more difficult and more responsible. We must be clear that the integrity of the country and the self-managing political system depends in good measure upon success in the struggle for development of social self-management.

The existing situation and our internal as well as external conditions of development present us with the task of conducting and implementing our economic development policy in a qualitatively new way. It was thus necessary to opt for a platform of long-term economic development, which also contains solutions for the topical problems of economic stabilization. This platform is the expression of our interpretation to the effect that it is not a question of our society having to develop by correcting only the mistakes of development to date. What is involved is having to establish a basis such as would initiate essential changes in relation to the existing state of affairs and point out the ways, means, and methods of ensuring the continuity of socialist self-managing development.

Such a document constitutes the expression of our efforts to find the way out of the present unfavorable socioeconomic state of affairs, and also the successful solution of the problem of development, based upon a unified program orientation for the further all-round development of socialist self-management, upon creative and consistent implementation of the Constitution, the Law associated Labor, the decisions of the 12th LCY Congress, the conclusions of the third and fourth sessions of the LCY Central Committee, and other social guidelines.

Yugoslavia, its working class and all working people, its nations and nationalities are determined to implement this orientation by their forces, proceeding from the interests of the working class and from consolidation of socialist self-management as our way of resolving developmental contradictions and tasks, alongside the broadest possible mobilization of the forces of labor knowledge, and creativity, and the activation of the productive and other capacities and means at our disposal. Finding its confirmation as a system of relations that motivates all creative potentials in the effective solution of economic contradictions and problems, self-management will continue to be an important factor in the development of socialism in the world.

The task confronting us is, of course, objectively very complex and difficult. The international circumstances are not favorable. Weaknesses in work cannot be eliminated overnight, and we must reckon on there being misunderstandings and resistance. It should be pointed out in particular that implementation of the long-term program will mean not only a necessary change in habits and behavior, but also an objective alteration of the actual position of certain factors and forces, which will have an interest in maintaining acquired rights and positions and in offering resistance to the new relations and decisions. It is up to us, however, to remove and overcome decisively and effectively such difficulties and resistance, even in our own ranks. Opportunism and compromise, which may weaken the degree of effectiveness of social action, should be decisevely opposed.

It is of greatest importance that the LCY be determined in the struggle against all forms and manifestations of statist, technocratic, group-property, or other monopolies, against forces that establish their influence upon defense of partial interests, such as those that squeeze out joint and general interests, and upon support for disintegration of the economy and the political system, and upon bureaucratic-statist alienation of the conditions, resources and results of labor from the worker.

Through the achievement of the long-term program, radical transformations must be implemented in social reproduction such as will mean in their class and revolutionary essence the realization of the self-managing position of associated workers established by the Constitution, and guarantee that in this process they have complete control over the conditions and results of labor. On this basis alone it is possible to clear the ways toward changes in relations in production and distribution, and to ensure greater motivation on the part of workers to raise labor productivity, income and efficiency in economic activity based on social means as a whole. The factor of the struggle for these changes must be the associated worker organized in a self-managing way, the working class itself, as the basic force of our socialist self-managing development, led by the LCY.

The proposed conclusions specify more precisely the foci of LC activity and operation. I believe that in determining the tasks of Communists deriving from the long-term economic stabilization program, there is no need to reiterate the document we are debating. It is necessary to bear in mind that a debate was conducted at the 12th LCY Congress on the "Starting Foundations of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization," which contain basic guidelines and tasks in the sphere of economic stabilization and socioeconomic development. Finally, the LC has also devoted significant attention to these issues in its activities so that the decisions we adopt today must be understood as the continuation of this overall activity. What is involved is that the whole self-managing delegate mechanism and all institutions of the socialist self-managing political system are placed in conditions of maximum responsibility both for the specification and adoption of decisions and conclusions, and also for their consistent implementation. In other words, these tasks can be accomplished only through the forces of self-management, subjective socialist forces and associated labor.

These tasks are, of course, not only the tasks of the leadership, institutions or organizations of the LC. These tasks are those of all social forces, working people and citizens. In this task of most broad importance, in the struggle to carry out the established tasks and goals, Communists must be in the forefront everywhere and in every place of work by their example, their labor results, and contribution. Thus, the LC as a whole will realize its role of leading political force. We must tighten up criteria and create conditions for Communists to be recognized primarily by their labor and their consistency in implementing the established policy. This must also become the key criterion of our cadre policy. On this basis, realistic labor, differentiation, ideological and political differentiation in the LC and in society are possible and necessary.

We should expect to face difficulties in changing social awareness and also in the awareness of every individual, which was objectively formed in the period when our economic growth resulted to a significant extent from additional accumulation and exceeded our own possibilities, a practice that must be stopped. We are speaking about deep changes and not short-term changes. We are striving not only to survive but also to change behavior, to work and live in a manner that is new to us, but which in essence is logical and inevitable.

The LC has always been -- and must continue to be today and in the future -- the motivating political force which, democratically linked with all the other subjective factors in society and being resolutely and creatively active in the whole system of socialist self-management, decisively influences the development of socioeconomic relations and total social development. This makes it necessary that the manner of its activity should adapt itself to changes and to the demands of social developments in the sense that Communists must act as initiators and in a creative and resolute manner wherever political activity is in progress, and especially in all the structures and at all the levels of the delegate mechanism, from the basic organization of associated labor and local communities to the SFRY Assembly.

What is at stake is the LC's historical responsibility for the revolutionary continuity of social development on socialist self-managing foundations, for the direction and speed of social development. The basic characteristic of the tasks that lie ahead of us is that in the conditions of major material problems, we have set ourselves the kind of aims in the sphere of promoting production and the qualitative elements of social reproduction that we failed to set in such terms and so sharply the course of our previous intensive social development. This is why this is also a task of far-reaching significance. It is a difficult task, which calls for great efforts and self-denial, but it is formulated in keeping with our real resources and possibilities.

It is necessary to recall that the 12th LCY Congress, and before that also the third congress of self-managers of Yugoslavia, creatively, critically and clearly expressed the resolve of our party and the broadest social base that we should unwaveringly follow the road of economic stabilization. Our basic task is to make it clear for every working man and citizen of this country to see what the situation and tasks are, in other words, where the way out of the unfavorable econoic situation is. This is the prerequisite for the necessary mobilization of all available resources and means of our Yugoslav community for realization of the common aims and tasks of economic stabilization or, in other words, for ensuring our further successful socioeconomic development on the basis of socialist self-management. This program is a perspective-type program, and not a program for "stabilization" of the existing state of affairs. It is a program of dynamic development, and not a program of stagnation and restrictions. That is its essence.

This program stems from the policy and orientation of the fullest possible reliance on our own resources. This orientation does not mean either economic or political isolationism. The aim is to make a fuller use today and the fullest use tomorrow of the resources that we possess -- material and human -- and in this manner ensure our broader and more efficient inclusion in the international division of labor. According to competent assessments, our society makes an insufficient and impermissible unorganized use of its own material, creative and cadre productive forces. There are some specific explanations of why this should be so, and what the relationship is between that the accelerated economic and social development that we had after the war. The world and time in which we live do not tolerare the kind of lagging behind tht we have suffered. We can no longer allow our shortcomings to manifest themselves directly as other people's advantages. The reliance on one's own resources is then a policy far more compehensive than simple acquiescence in the processes of "necessity and the only way out." It will strengthen not only the forces of the economy but also the social relations of socialist self-management.

This is a development policy that mobilizes to the full a committed, offensive-minded and to a considerable extent aggressive development policy, which relies on the productive and creative resources of society, on work and creativity, and on the system of self-managing socioeconomic relations that introduce new qualities in social reproduction and in economic activity based on socially-owned resources.

Our technical and technological capacities are not outdated. Our scientific resources are not small, and the educational standard of the direct producers, medium-level specialized cadre, and organizers of production are higher than ever before. It is necessary to have a constant meeting of broad circles of scientific and specialized cadres to enable them to participate in the creation and preparation of all strategic solutions and decisions.

Reliance on one's own forces means the obligation of attaining a high level of discipline and rationalization of all forms of consumption, rational and responsible conduct at all levels of the social organization. A general rationalization of the entire complex of consumption is in fact one of the foci of the changes of a reforming nature that we must execute. In organizations of associated labor, self-managing interest communities, in all sociopolitical communities -- municipalities, provinces and republics -- it is essential on the basis of very specific and practical programs to conduct a decisive battle to bring consumption within the limits of disposable material possibilities.

These programs will not be implemented without difficulties or resistance. We must reconcile ourselves to the fact that the stabilization program cannot be implemented if everything remains the same as before, and unless the acquired rights and network of institutions and so forth are reexamined. The situation demands that priorities be established selectively, in accordance with material possibilities. Only if production increases will consumption also be able to rise. The greatest problem today -- and it must be expected that it will remain so in the future, too -- is that of the excessive level of investments alongside the simultaneous decline in the efficiency of investments and the slow change of their structure in the direction of priority activities. Much more decisive and effective action must be taken in this sphere. The various couplings in decisionmaking on investments must be suppressed and economic criteria in evaluating the justification for new investments must be wholly respected.

At the same time, demands for labor discipline and accountability everywhere must be intensified and idleness must be prevented from hiding behind so-called "democratic" principles. It must not be permitted for technological and labor discipline and accountability to be violated under the guise of the struggle against technocratic-bureaucratic usurpations of self-managing rights; nor for idleness to be substituted for labor, and demagogy substituted for the democratization of socialist self-management, under the pretext of alleged self-managing decisionmaking.

On the other hand, the long-term economic stabilization program implies the creation of conditions for economic patterns to exert a stronger and more all-round influence in the practice of economic activity. It is of broader importance to consolidate this orientation. It could be said that the nature of the reforming, radical transformation of the method of conducting economic activity and business and implementing the overall development policy lies to a great degree in the fuller operation of economic pattern. Each job must be subjected to social verification on the basis of economic and market criteria that should demonstrate whether and to what extent it is socially justified or socially accepted.

Only thus is it possible to suppress effectively voluntarism and subjectivism in the economy and create the social prerequisites for preventing state administration for administration's sake and statist interference, and to overcome group-property relations, autarchy and the tendency to erode the social nature of income and means of production.

Communists must become resolutely involved in overcoming the situation in which the executive organs at various levels act like special management organs or the financial leaderships of the economy in their own sociopolitical communities, neglecting and deforming the legally established task and position of the executive organs in the system. Moreover, the creation of the preconditions for the development and strengthening of the unified nature of the Yugoslav market and the unity of the SFRY's economic system is unrealistic without the objectivization of production and the results of production, on the basis of economic laws and the relations set up by them. It goes without saying that the market, in conditions of self-management and social ownership of the means of production, has a rather different content and different mechanisms from those of other systems, but its fundamental trait -- the free circulation of goods, accumulation, know-how, etc -- is an economic and social imperative and the material basis of the self-management association of workers and their organizations of associated labor, and the self-management integration of society as a whole. Without this sort of constant orientation, measures of economic policy would continue to produce short-term effects, and the results of society's efforts in stabilizing the economy would quickly be rendered worthless, as in certain circumstances in the past.

A decisive change in all these important points can only take place if all-round conditions are created for the worker to see his existence and prospects in his own organization of associated labor and all the forms of self-management association and linking-up, and in the distribution of income according to work and results, something for which the worker will fight if and when he controls the whole of income and, in particular, expanded reproduction. Integration on these foundations is the precondition for true and genuine equality of the nations and nationalities, republics and provinces, for the strengthening of the constitutionally enshrined federal nature of the Yugoslav community and for the ruling position of the working class and all working people.

In determining the tasks of the LCY concerning realization of the long-term program of economic stabilization, we must proceed from the constitutional position and role of the LCY and its social responsibility for the continuity of the socialist revolution, and also from the role and responsibility of all subjects in society.

Very great responsibility for realization of the policy decided upon lies with, primarily, the delegates, delegations and delegate assemblies at all levels. In the great number of objectively existing diverse interests, and in our very difficult conditions, which mean we must fight for realization of the goals of economic stabilization, the delegates and delegations should consistently and genuinely reflect the interests of associated labor and the sociopolitical communities they represent, but they must also show a great degree of responsibility in respecting other particular and common interests -- the interests of the whole. In other words, it is very important that the delegates and delegations should not only be capable of successfully representing the true interests of the environments they represent but that they should also be the bearers of the struggle for the expression of joint interests.

All this applies in particular to the SFRY Assembly, which should decide the most important issues of economic activity in circumstances when, objectively speaking, there are great differences in the levels of development, economic structure, interests, and so forth. For this reason, the LCY's cohesive ideopolitical role is exceptionally important and irreplaceable, and the LCY, as the vanguard and leading force of society, must be capable of seeing furthest and clearest, and have the responsibility and strength to influence all the working and social environments in bringing their individual current, real or ostensible interests into line, and subordinate them, whenever this is necessary, to the long-term, real, objective and joint interests. This is all the more true as the realization of the common real interest is a precondition for realization of the [word indistinct] interests, which are authentic and objective, [word indistinct] and so Communists must objectively bear the greatest responsibility for a clear prospect and for ensuring the common interest in our federal and multinational self-management socialist community. This commitment also lies with other organs and institutions in society. Particularly great responsibility for the timely and judicious adoption of decisions and their implementation goes to the socialist republics or autonomous province as subjects involved in determining joint economic policy.

The constitutional role and commitment of the Federal Executive Council is to monitor, study, and analyze the situation and highlight the need for measures to be taken in individual spheres in the federation's competence. As a result, the Federal Executive Council is, especially in the current socioeconomic situation, exceptionally important and, in its character, an irreplaceable factor of responsibility in the successful adoption and effective implementation of certain measures.

It is the task of the Communists in the Federal Executive Council and the federal organs of the administration to secure the constitutional role and position of the Federal Executive Council, resolve, and efficiency in its work. They must also ensure that the Federal Executive Council is an independent organ, responsible only to the SFRY Assembly and the Yugoslav public, as laid down in the SFRY Constitution and laws. It must also be free of any republican, provincial or any other localistic or particularistic pressure or influence.

An exceptionally important task is that of the Federal Executive Council's commission for the specific formulation of tasks in connection with the realization of the long-term program of economic stabilization, which has already been set up and has already presented its first draft programs and measures to the SFRY Assembly. There are justified observations that some measures were adopted in accordance with the abridged procedure, without first ensuring the participation of associated labor, which was impossible to avoid in every case in these difficult times, when the speedy adoption of measures is needed. This practice must change in the future, because it may undermine the vital foundations of the political system of self-managing democracy. The task of the commission of the Federal Executive Council and the commissions in the republics and the provinces is the consistent application of the orientation contained in the long-term economic stabilization program, in connection with which there can be no going back on what has been agreed and coordinated. In this sense it is the task of all the experts and creative people in federal, republican, provincial and municipal organs of administration, as the organs responsible for implementing the policy, to make a vital contribution to efficiency and to the creation of the conditions needed to make economic use of resources, time, and cadre potential during the struggle for stabilization and suppression of the old type of behavior.

The SAWPY Federal Conference has adopted conclusions and defined tasks in connection with the implementation of the long-term program.

Communists in the Socialist Alliance, the broadest front of organized socialist forces, must act as an internal factor in the intensification of the struggle for prostablization behavior wherever decisions are made and the policy of implementation of the program of stabilization and socioeconomic development is determined. The activity of Communists in SAWP should contribute to the broad and effective activation of the delegate base, expecially in local communities. SAWP's action is also of the greatest importance in the countryside, where the struggle is being waged on a long-term basis for many of the aims of stablization and harmonious socioeconomic development, because the possibilities that agriculture offer have to a great extent not yet been exploited. If Communists in SAWP are active, that will help SAWP become a factor in the broadest mobilization of working people and citizens, in the broad social creativity in the struggle for the fuller and efficient implementation of economic and sociopolitical tasks.

In connection with the tasks and responsibilities of Communists in the trade union confederation, it is particulary necessary to point out the need for the trade unions to help create the conditions in which the workers make decisions on the whole of the income and the conditions in which it is earned and distributed and influence the development of delegate relations in associated labor and the whole of society and on the consolidation of the front against all the forms of idleness, irrationality, or lack of discipline in economic activity. One of the most important, and I would say class, tasks to which the trade unions must directly apply themselves and for which they must struggle is the higher valuation (material and social) of production work and creativity. It is also necessary for trade unions to have more decisive influence with regard to the selective and differentiated settling of the problems of the protection of the standard of living of the employed, primarily in the work organization and municipality.

Of particular importance for realization of the long-term program of economic stablization is the involvement of the younger generation. Communists in the Federation of Socialist Youth should strive to help the enthusiasm, creativity, and skill of the young and their orientation in favor of socialist self-management be manifested fully in the realization of the tasks confronting all of society. This also presupposes the speedier settling of the vital problems of the young, especially in the sphere of the educational system and in connection with the problems of employment.

Of exceptional importance for the continuity of our self-managing development and protection of the achievements of the revolution, is the activity of the Federation of Veterans of the War of National Liberation in the realization of program orientations and the tasks indicated in the long-term program.

A significant area for Communists' activity in the realization of stablization tasks is to be found in the broader associations of associated labor and especially in economic chambers at all levels. These institutions, regardless of their position and role in the system, should make a considerably greater contribution to the intensification of the process of pooling of labor and resources on the basis of income, to the greater influence of associated labor on the adoption of the joint economic and development policies, to the joint settling of problems in reproduction and to efforts to ensure unity of the Yugoslav market. It is necessary to be resolute in opposing isolationism and autarchy and any undermining of the unity of our economic and socioeconomic system.

Particularly important is the struggle to preserve the integrity of social property and to oppose statist and group-property behavior and usurpation of social resources and social property.

The tasks of workers' control and all the control and inspection organs in society and organs of prosecution and the judiciary are of the greatest importance, especially with regard to the strengthening of respect for the Constitution and the law and the consistent and specific application of the law. In this sphere, one should act uncompromisingly and drastically in the case of any form of crime that not only threatens property but also constitutes an attack on the foundations of the system. The long-term program of economic stablization proceeds from the fact that social policy must be active and in the service of associated labor and that it must be grounded in long-term foundations in keeping with the aims of economic development.

The current economic situation requires intensified action in realizing the principles of solidarity on self-management foundations, and primarily the protection of the living standards of workers and families with low incomes living on wages from their work place alone. It has already been said that we will encounter these problems primarily in the large cities and industrial centers and that their most effective solutions can and must come from the organizations of associated labor in the municipalities. It is of the utmost importance that in the present circumstances we should resist the social differences that arise through the acquisition of income outside of work and the results of work, something to which the relevant fiscal policy, among other things, should contribute.

The problems of employment are today still long-term in nature and of the greatest social and economic importance; special stress is laid on them in the long-term program of economic stabilization. The employment of expert and qualified people is most important here, not only from the social, but primarily from the production and economic viewpoint, of course. The rationalization of the organization of production, the fuller exploitation of capacities, multishift labor, ensuring the continuity of production -- these are the genuine and real bases for a gradual solution to the problem of employment, together with the exploitation of the still unutilized work opportunities in agriculture and the small-scale economy, and in production means in the private ownership of citizens. We should dispense with dogmatic prejudices and reservations regarding labor involving means of production privately owned by citizens and in a planned and organized way activate the opportunities for employment in this sphere, which should make a significant contribution to the implementation of the stabilization program. We must also insist openly on the greater mobility of the work force outside the large industrial centers and cities.

There can be no responsibility for realization of the policy of socio-economic stabilization, or the political line in general, without full publicity for the process of adopting decisions, rendering an account, and reporting what is being achieved and how, or not, as the case may be. An enormous role here is played by the method of examining questions and work in the delegate assemblies, while the SAWP has a special responsibility here as an organized front of democratic control by the public over the realization of the adopted policy.

In this connection, the tasks of the press, radio, and television, as the front for enhancing awareness of the essence of and need for the long-term program of stabilization and conduct in harmony with it, are special. Likewise, in a responsible, independent, ideologically clear and consistent manner the newspapers must, on the one hand, be a factor of social criticism and strengthen critical awareness in the struggle for economic stabilization and, on the other, a factor of consistent and resolute support for positive measures, trends and efforts. It is their constitutional obligation to inform in an objective and factually substantiated manner without bias and without succumbing to various localistic group-ownership pressures of the environment in which they are published or any other pressures.

Like all other social factors, the newspapers and media in general bear exceptional responsibility for realization of this role of theirs, both to the public they are informing and the institutions of the self-management sociopolitical system.

The realization of the long-term program of economic stabilization requires knowledge of many facts and a clear view of the future and the conditions in which these goals are to be realized. It is thus necessary to incorporate the documents of the long-term program of economic stabilization in the program of ideological work and training and ideological-political education, because the LC's success in realizing the set tasks depends to a very great extent on the ideological training of every LC member and all its leaderships. Communists must always act through the force of argument, on the basis of a knowledge of facts, and through the comprehensive nature of their ideological action.

We can, realistically speaking, successfully overcome the major difficulties we have encountered, because, despite the weaknesses, we have a strong and powerful system of socialist self-management democracy, a clear concept of the way out of the current situation and a clear vision of the future. The results which we are achieving this year, under exceptionally difficult conditions, in reviving production, increasing exports and reducing the growth of all forms of consumption (even though we are not in the position to fully realize everything that was planned), are cause for encouragement and speak of the working class', working people's, and citizens' great awareness and efforts, and their willingness to fight for the consistent inplementation of the agreed policy and tasks that our development demands. The platform we have and the unity of views on the way in which, at the present stage, we should achieve material and social progress constitute a sound basis for overcoming current difficulties and creating the conditions for future dynamic and stable socioeconomic development. The LC has an irreplaceable role and historic responsibility in this. All Communists and all parts of the LCY will have to bear full responsibility and submit reports on the determining of policy and realization of tasks to the LC and a whole and to the LC leadership, in keeping with the principles of democratic centralism.

PRICE FREEZE ON SOME GOODS ENDED BY FEC

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[Excerpts] Belgrade 25 Jul (TANJUG) -- By a decision of the Federal Executive Council, [FEC], starting tomorrow the previous regulation on the freezing of prices, by which the federal government placed the prices of all products and services under a "price pegging" system on 31 July last year, will no longer be in force. This was reported today at a press conference by Dimitrije Tasic, FEC member and chairman of the inter-republican Committee for Market Issues, and Ante Zmijarevic, chairman of the Federal Community for Prices. However, this does not mean, Tasic hastened to warn, that prices will not be controlled in the future. This will only be possible when the correlation between supply and demand is balanced and when through economic measures it will be possible to act effectively and intervene in the market in order to remove fluctuations.

According to the FEC decision, the group of products that will continue to be in the "freezer" will include crude oil and all its derivatives, natural gas, medicines, and all kinds of cigarettes.